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MAN IN AMERICA.

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SIX THOUSAND YEARS FROM EDEN TO INDEPENDENCE HALL.

THE HIGHEST SUMMIT REACHED BY MAN, *EN MASSE*, BETWEEN THE GARDEN OF EDEN AND INDEPENDENCE HALL, IS CITIZENSHIP MANHOOD ON THE TABLE LAND OF EQUALITY IN THE UNITED STATES, WHERE THE AMERICAN CITIZEN IS AS HIGH ABOVE THE SUBJECT OF A CROWN AS THE TABLE LAND IN THIBET IS ABOVE TIDEWATER, OR THE FLIGHT OF THE EAGLE HIGHER THAN THE SPARROW.

BY

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AUTHOR OF

"NO DYNASTY IN NORTH AMERICA," "FREE TRADE MEANS SERF PAY AND FAMINE FARE," ETC.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRESS OF HENRY B. ASHMEAD,
NOS. 1102 AND 1104 SANSOM STREET.
1889.

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MAN IN AMERICA.

THE SIGN OF THE COVENANT BETWEEN THE STATES AND THE UNITED STATES.

I. Pennsylvania is the Keystone of the Arch emblematic of the United States, designed and erected by the architects and builders of the Republic, to span time, combine strength and inspire love of commonwealth and country.

II. Agriculture and Manufactures are the Pillars of the Arch, representing the industries and interests of town and country, the two sources of trade in the two conditions of society organized by Adam's race, for mutual support out of the products of husbandry and the arts, which together include all the varieties of labor, manual and mental, in door and out, and jointly make a market for sellers and consumers, and so provide for the necessities of nature and the comforts and conveniences that charm household life; thus showing that Agriculture and Manufactures are both necessary to the nation for the common good of the states, as the two sexes are necessary for the propagation of the human species.

III. And the Foundations of the Arch, which stands on a rock where the wind and rain beat against it, but harm it not, for it is concreted in a hundred years of political weather, sunshine and shower, are the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress, at Philadelphia, July 4, 1776, and the Constitution of the United States, adopted in National Convention, George Washington, President, at Philadelphia, September 17, 1787.

IV. The Declaration gave man his first firm foothold, to stand to his guns on battle ground, for equality in civil rights.

The Constitution is the perpetual charter of the Union, with vested powers granted by the states, not for consolidation into a centralized government, but, on the contrary, to enforce the agreement of the states, fraternize interstate interests and regulate national and international affairs. And these grand objects it has consummated in the rise of the nation to greatness among the powers, with commercial interests as wide as the world.

MAN IN AMERICA.

IN SEARCH OF A LIVELIHOOD AND HAVEN.

Inequality in the condition of man, political and fiscal, is the "old, old story" told in history, through the mutations of recorded time, under all forms of religion and frames of government, from the organization of society to the present day.

And meantime that wonderful progress has been made by man in machinery and the arts, intermittent political progress has also been made in redressing human wrongs and restoring human rights, alternating results of ambition and patriotism evolved out of the moral and political light and darkness caused by the strifes, conquests, intrigues and treaties which made and keep the globe a patchwork of nations and dependencies, clans and tribes, Christian, Mohammedan and heathen, the millennium is not in sight, save through the blessed glasses of faith, which penetrate beyond the astronomer's telescope, and make the wonderland of the future, that mystery of mysteries, visible to hope, the spirit resident in the human heart.

Furthermore, there are now in this nineteenth century, nearly nine tenths gone by, on the disk of the world of Adam and Noah, progenitor and preserver of the human family, and representatives of Eden and Ararat, signs of betterment in dynastic government where the subject masses are expectant and impatient, and in preparations for emigration from overcrowded fatherlands in Europe to new colonies foreshadowed in Africa, which is six times the size of western Europe, and contains fewer inhabitants; and also in Australia and South America, where, as on the "dark continent," crossed midway by the equator, and within which the explorer and the missionary are spies on the natives, there is uninhabited territory for settlement and opportunity for immigrants to locate and thrive, and so build and progress like other pioneers who builded new states and prospered in other places. But though the mental vista to the sanguine be aglow in spots in the mind, akin to sunlight on a landscape between shadows of clouds overhead, the proneness of statecraft to counteraction and retrogression, where the people without common rights and princes with spurious prerogatives are the parties, makes a prognosis of the political zodiac very uncertain prediction. For, notwithstanding the achievements of pen and sword, historical in

annals of the past, it is to-day, in order to picture man's condition of inequality on the earth, simply necessary to contrast the European part of Turkey with the rest of Europe, and the Christian parts of Europe with Africa and Asia, to demonstrate the superiority of Christian institutions to pagan despotism, and same time make palpable to the understanding of mankind, emphatic as a mountain peak seen from a Colorado plain, the pinnacle truth that the Republic of North America is a land favored in its early European immigrants of mixed races, whose children intermarried and founded the American race—a land blessed in its resources and institutions; and thus make its glories, revealed in its star and stripe ensign, luminous as a flame in a lighthouse on a sea-coast or bar in a bay, a warning and a sign to the mariner off shore or bound for a land-locked tide-water port; so that political astrologers who would steal secrets from the skies may turn their faces downward from the milky way, that marvellous congregation of sparks in azure overhead, and resume the study of the navigation charts, which pilots of the ship of state and skippers in the political coasting trade consult, to avoid shoals, keep the bow in the channel and the keel clear of the bottom.

But there are other wrecks beside watercraft that sink or go ashore. Indeed, on overland routes there are more wrecks of corporations and business ventures than there are wrecks of vessels on ocean pathways. True, navigation is a nautical word, appertaining to voyages on waterways, but it is likewise a term available in trade, signifying the art of knowing how to steer a business, where there are rocks and snags ahead and no chart at hand, till fortune is acquired and a new commander take the place of a veteran resigned, as a father giving way to a son and son to son in turn.

Thus the routine of trade, wherein is comprised all branches of business, is carried on from generation to generation, the successor sometimes surpassing the predecessor, sometimes reversing this result, and ending in liquidation or bankruptcy and ruin.

Those who reach the front are the successful few; those who gravitate down to the rear, with no recourse left untried, may escape hunger and rags; the main body between the leaders and the disabled, "the rank and file," is the army in force, which withstands the brunt; for employment pay, which though better in America than in Europe, thanks to protection, is not overmuch for the citizen whose competitor is a subject across the sea, where the masses will have to burst fetters, even where worn velveted, before the chattel bread-winner can be free. The hereditary title-wearer is in his way, across one road a barricade, in another road a stumbling-block, an obstacle to be removed like any other obstruction, by means adequate for the end.

Although the chronology of human events covers nearly six thousand years, sixty centuries of epochs and eras, ancient and modern, with the "Dark Ages" between, there are hundreds of millions of human beings, in sooth an exceeding great majority of mankind, still in bondage of opinion and body to usurped authority, maintained by standing armies and diplomacy with decoys and tricks in lieu of deadly weapons, on false premises for justifying pleas and by the enforcement of laws intended to operate unequally on subject population.

True, the elective franchise, here and there, has been extended and restrictions have been relaxed; but where hereditary crowns are worn and laws of primogeniture and entail are tolerated, to perpetuate castes, titles and possessions, the subject masses derive very little benefit from the compromise concessions yielded by their imperious oppressors, who surrender privilege and prerogative to circumstances beyond control, with a tardy and reluctant acquiescence.

In surgery, where a limb, imperfect and unsound, must be severed from the body to save life, the knife is an indispensable instrument.

And where there are abuses chronic in a system, as decay in a tree hollow in the trunk and only fit for firewood, revolution, justified by festering cause, is a righteous remedy, sanctified by success either in controversy or combat.

Constitutional government so called, under a limited monarchy without a written constitution as in England, where, however, the House of Commons is supreme, if the crown choose to assert its authority, is always costly; for royal pomp is expensive pageantry, and a royal family is a heavy burden on the budget.

The time will come, too, "when the kingdoms of the earth" will be no more, and the people, educated to understand manhood rights and duties, will wonder how and why mummeries and shams that appealed only to the senses were tolerated through so many centuries, in so many lands, prior to the American Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, and the revolution in France, beginning at the Bastile stormed and taken, July 14, 1789, two epochal dates red as the sun seen first through a morning mist, since golden as the sun in the azure sky at noon.

In the use of the ballot, no wiser discrimination was ever shown than in the election for President of the United States, held November 6, 1888. Then the issue was citizen home rule in the American market, through water-tight and fire-proof protection to citizen labor, or serf pay and famine fare in this bounteous land of plenty, comfort and content, as in Europe where there are more hands fitted for work than there is work to do, and where there are more mouths to feed than there are loaves of bread to break; and where, besides, General

Hunger has his headquarters organizing for a march, not caring which way, with agrarians, nihilists and anarchists in his ranks, exhorting a distribution of property by promiscuous crusade against life, valuables and institutions, with no remedy for evils to be uprooted, nor substitute for establishments to be torn down.

Europe waits the coming of a Washington and a body of patriotic men like the Continental Congress to organize a revolution founded on principles and rights, and to concrete its issues in a model constitution put where it will stand, and made so it will last.

France has made sacrifices in liberty's behalf; but the constitution of France is not a perfect bulwark, for the republic of France is beset within with the treason of dynasties and factions, and besieged without with the jealousies and opposition of near-by powers. But a large majority of the French people are republican in judgment, sentiment and determination; and that trio of virtues assures France against Bourbon, Orleanist or Buonapartist re-occupation. Between France and Royalty are the ballot and the guillotine.

It is an error to allege that in the war of 1870–71 Germany conquered France. Germany defeated the army of Napoleon III., who instigated the war and lost his throne; but the resurrected French republic, under President Thiers, the man for the emergency, put down the commune and so ended its reign of violence in Paris, and paid to Germany the largest indemnity ever stipulated in a treaty. The croakers who decry France will die before the republic, that is busy with its task to cure conscious defects; and its resolution is to be ready for any crisis possible in western Europe, where, as elsewhere, its rank is a first-class power.

It is only in the United States that all the roads to preferment, all the opportunities for advancement to distinction and fortune, are open to free competition in politics, the professions, the industries and the arts; in a word, in all the avocations of life imposed by necessity and duty. The American citizen can gratify yearnings and aspirations which the subject cannot share, because he is destitute of rights taken from him.

In the United States, moreover, the ballot is free to every citizen and every vote cast counts one, whether the qualified elector be rich or poor, an employer or an employe. This is political equality without qualification other than citizenship, which natives inherit and immigrants can acquire.

In influence in a community one man may outweigh another; but on election day no man counts more than another, in the ballot-box. The subject is a chattel of the crown, but the citizen is a part of the state. Hence citizenship in a republic, where it constitutes eligibility

to office, even to the highest in the elective catalogue, is the supreme condition of manhood, exalted above bondman in kingdom or empire. Especially is the condition of the colonist humiliating, if not pitiable, as a political asset, since he is only a collateral subject, owing allegiance to a reigning sovereign far away and separated from him by thousands of intervening miles, across which the ties of mutual sympathy do not reach, cannot respond, the agreement between kingdom and colony being a sort of forced marriage with a divorce in mental reservation, if not in prospect.

A colony, at the very best that can be said of it, is nothing more than a step-daughter-like dependency, whilst fellowship in independent government embodies the elevating idea of nationality, and gives man his full stature and true status of equality as a factor in human affairs. This is what the Creator intended when he modelled one man, whose image is the pattern of all men.

The cars in a train follow the track, obedient to the locomotive ahead, to which they are coupled; and the colonies of an empire or kingdom, if not hauled, are driven by a stationary motive-power, like machinery in motion, save that one is geared with "red tape," the other with leather belts.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

The British empire, the kingdom, colonies and dependencies, considered as one political complexity, is operated throughout, notwithstanding its incongruities which will not amalgamate like drops of water or metals alloyed into bronze, in the name of a crowned ruler enthroned in London, constituting a centralized propelling force (as did the Corliss engine in Machinery Hall, Fairmount Park, during the Centennial Exhibition of 1876), and exercising or waiving jurisdiction, as in Canada, according to option dictated by interest or suggested by circumstances, pending or foreshadowed.

Whereas if Canada were part of the American Union, and, as it then would be, within the jurisdiction of Congress, the colonist would be merged in the citizen, and the Canadian, equally with the Texan, would have a representative voice and vote in Washington. Texas crossed the Rio Grande, and Canada can cross the St. Lawrence and imitate Texas when it departed Mexico. From the Washington capitol Canada, same as a field in crop from the orb of day, could draw installments of sunshine warmer and healthier than is derived from its atmosphere loaded with London fog, which is dark, dismal and damp, or from its assessed spectacular asset, the aurora borealis, with its radiant ribbons of northern lights, simultaneously brilliant in

the skies of Greenland and Alaska, east and west of the magnetic pole, in the hyperborean region of the Esquimaux-Canadians that sparsely populate the Dominion north of the isothermal limit to agriculture abreast of Hudson Bay, a way to the sea, open in summer time, independent of the St. Lawrence route.

The provinces abutting the Union boundary line, including Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, moulded into states American pattern, can petition for annexation or knock for admission, Texas fashion, when the people, pausing to think for themselves, shall realize how the Dominion government and its impecunious corporations have squeezed the udder of the patient English cow till they have milked its Canada teat dry. Thereupon the people of Canada, not the pay-roll pensioners of the Dominion, will tire of their subject condition and yearn for citizenship in the republic across the border.

"Roman citizen" was a proud title, boasted of by those who bore it; "American citizen" is a prouder manhood title which every qualified voter can wear, in and on his breast.

Subject is servitude, as bondage is slavery. Personal government in perpetuity, by life tenure and descent, is never legitimate, because it is founded on usurpation of the rights of the many, exercised without the consent of the individuals bereft of the gift of nature. Personal government is tyranny with a gloved hand, ready to unsheath a bayonet concealed in a sleeve.

In republican government, representatives of the people, elected by ballot, are a co-ordinate part of the law-making machinery, where there are three co-ordinate branches, as President, Senate and House of Representatives, or Governor, Senate and Assembly. Citizenship by nativity and right to property left by will or allotted by law are the only birthrights. To citizenship derived from nativity is added citizenship derived from naturalization, the native and the adopted citizen having equal domiciliary rights. No man can name his successor in office, no man can convey his honorary title, to survive himself. Death makes office and title vacant and creates opportunities for promotion.

The man dies and is buried, and kinship is no title to successorship to office or to title. If the earth may be likened to a battle-ground and life a strife, a republic may be likened to a race-course where every steed has a fair start and a fair chance to win a stake. If every competitor won a prize of uniform value, there would be no incentive to effort; and human beings would be of a common mental height, like forest trees level at the top.

Is not one of the reasons why, in a monarchy, more subjects do not try to climb the ladder to a higher level, the fact that most of the

premiums payable in a republic in substantial rewards and distinguishing honors are, in a monarchy, the exclusive perquisites of a nobility patented by the crown?

The fruit of a tree is bettered by a graft of a new variety; and same way the nobility in a monarchy is bettered by the graft of an humble but promising twig on a young tree in an old orchard. Generals are promoted from the ranks because on the issue of a battle hangs victory or defeat; on the issue of a war depends the fate of a country.

Recruiting the aristocracy from the ranks of the people is an expedient which may prolong a monarchy and postpone the republic where it is announced in "the signs of the times" in Europe, but it cannot disband its army on the march, armed with the ballot, which combines torpedo and bomb, pistol and gun.

The President of the United States is the choice of the ballot, through electors chosen by ballot in the states of the Union, in number corresponding with senators and representatives in Congress, the electoral college and Congress having an equal number of seats.

This is representation according to state population, and is a safeguard against the centralization of power, of which the states are naturally jealous.

If the citizen cast his vote direct for President, without the interposition of electors and irrespective of the states as states, combinations might be made between centres of dense population to control the general result on sectional instead of national grounds. Sectionalism is bigotry and nationality is patriotism.

Verily the framers of the constitution were wise and far-sighted in "their day and generation;" for it is left to their posterity, still heedful of the injunction, only to change the presidential term from four to six years and render the incumbent of the highest office on earth ineligible for re-election.

Perched on the highest peak of the highest honor, where machination cannot cut him off from his constituents, the President with his mind's eye or visual organs sees the sun rise and set every day for four years, 1461 days of a lifetime, and then, if not re-elected, with dignity resumes his normal post of private citizenship.

Newfoundland and Vancouver islands are not so far apart as Maine and the westernmost of the Aleutian islands of Alaska.

The United States boundary line, one hundred and ninety-three degrees west longitude from Greenwich, is sixty-seven degrees west of Vancouver island, and Newfoundland is only fifteen degrees east of Maine. Therefore the admission of Canada into the Union would cause no outstretching of the national boundary line, between its

extremities east and west, for the reason that the distance is greater between Maine and the frontier Aleutian island than the distance between islands Vancouver and Newfoundland.

Extension of boundary line to the north pole does not signify; for beyond the isothermal limit to the cultivation of crops, overflow population can never go nor new states ever grow. Eviction of the Esquimaux, in expectation of colonization where they dwell, is a transitory Dominion dream, as illusive as a mirage or a Dominion prospectus distributed to entice immigrants and dollars from Europe into Canada; perchance into provinces bordering on Walrussia, where the aboriginal walrus and white bear landlord large plantations of ice and reconnoitre expeditions bound for the ninetieth degree of north latitude, there to discover the north pole.

It is not likely that Canada will be admitted into the Union a sinner unrepentant, or otherwise than as a suppliant on petition of aggrieved natives of manhood proclivities anxious to become citizens and deceived immigrants unwilling to stay and become subjects; and also on confession that the Dominion, judged by its fruits as the product of the seed planted by its founders, is a crop failure, except it be considered a "rotten borough" on a big scale, managed in the interest of its official wire-workers; that it is insolvent on its indebtedness, guarantees and contracts; that the net revenue of its railway corporations from traffic carried is insufficient to pay a fair, if any, interest on their aggregate investments; that its food crops, small and light in its sparse and scattered population, do not yield more than enough to satisfy home consumption; that its fuel, of which it needs much to counteract the extreme cold in the half year of winter weather, is at its ocean ends, not distributed in its provinces as coal is distributed in the states, across the continent; that much if not most of its area is wintry waste; that the St. Lawrence, bay and river, and Hudson bay, are icebound and locked against navigation the first six, the last eight months of the year, thus establishing a blockade of all the inland tidewater ports and all the freshwater lake ports in Canada east of the Rocky Mountains,—a sorry contrast with the open-through-the-year Atlantic, Gulf and Mississippi ports in the United States; that, altogether, the Dominion is a sort of political estate which impoverishes its owner in proportion to its size—in which singularity it is unlike its neighbor, that makes its owner, "Uncle Sam," richer in proportion to its size; that this difference is due to location, resources and institutions; that the average barrenness of the Dominion and its meteorological extremes, added to the other conditions named, make up a debit sum total of discouraging drawbacks against the country as a whole, after offsetting the foregoing inventory of principal character-

istics with a credit entry of a few streaks and patches of fat land on the Dominion's back, like stripes and spots on zebra and leopard skins, or steaks of show-beef tenderloin cut from a prize steer, not from one of Canada's "lean kine" descended from Pharaoh's distant time.

Again: If Canada should pursue a policy of double-dealing hereafter as she has heretofore at sundry times, in sundry ways, the United States may, according to usage in cases of boundary line rectification, occupy territory at present within the Dominion, east of Maine and west of Lake Superior, and hold it as indemnity for the future.

Cape Farewell, Greenland, is on the sixtieth parallel of north latitude, thirty degrees south of the north pole; and Canada, west of the "Lake of the Woods," is bounded by the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; so that of the forty-one degrees of north latitude between the north pole and the United States, thirty degrees or seventy-three per cent. of the distance is north of the latitude of Cape Farewell in the arctic zone of Greenland, and only eleven degrees south of the latitude of Cape Farewell and five degrees forty minutes south of Alaska.

Greenland, it will be remembered, on account of its unendurable inhospitality, is almost depleted of population, notwithstanding it has an area of 838,000 square miles, seven times the size of Great Britain and Ireland.

Canada is a land where emigrants fold their tents and take leave, not a land of promise for immigrants to stay in after trial, if they survive its winter and have means to move into a state of the Union.

And after North America, by the annexation of Canada, whole or part, and by treaty with neighbor Mexico and the Central American states, shall have been joined in limited partnership under the ægis of the Washington Constitution, from Panama north to the pole, European kinsmen, not of one tongue but of all tongues, however disposed to jealousy and jobbiness, or the covetousness of race rivalry, will sink selfishness in affectionate interest in offspring, merged and multiplied in a powerful people.

The Union is a fissure lode in stratified humanity, running crosswise to parallel dynastic formations, exposed nowadays, more than ever before, to volcano and earthquake outbreak and shake, where the crust of political society is thin and the forces seething underneath may at any time upheave the surface; and the population of the Union, a new race free in government and American in name and nature, founded by immigrants from the islands and continent of Europe, and developed by their intermarried and commingled posterity into a nation combining the elements of greatness, rest and

rely not so much on army and navy, and reserves within call, as on faith in, fidelity to and affection for the republic, with the ballot and free schools as the mainstays of its institutions.

PARTY PLATFORMS AND THE COMMANDMENTS.

Of the products of the United States each and every foreign nation buys as little as it can make satisfy its wants, necessaries and luxuries included; and it is preposterous to assert that foreign nations would buy more of the staples of American agriculture or more articles of American manufacture, if America increased its purchases of the products of European mills and workshops. A high aim of statesmanship is to show, in the consideration of the budget, a balance in value in favor of merchandise exports, as against value of merchandise imports. An individual cannot spend more than his income, whether from earnings of head or hand, or increment on investment, without incurring debt. And what is a nation but an aggregation of its indwellers?

That wages paid employes in the United States are higher, in many cases very much higher, than is paid in foreign countries, competitive in manufactures, is a truth now so generally and so often conceded in debate that denial of it among persons informed on the subject is accepted proof of hardihood in lying.

However, to the demagogue and the agitator, who demolish with words where others build with works, and who vent detraction where praise is merited, falsehood and fact seem morsels of equal sweetness, rolled under tongues too willing to talk.

Hence it behooves the citizen elector to be wary and alert in the use of the ballot, lest he be deceived, even with his eyes supposititiously open; for a party platform operated in a canvass, like a trap in the stage of a theatre, may confound the senses.

In political platform making the mental carpentry is, first, the selection of material for planks, soft and hard wood, in sizes and shapes fitted for dovetailing; and second, the use of the milliner and dressmaker art of adornment with flowers of phraseology, to captivate and proselyte the spectator and reader. And when a platform is thus dovetailed and festooned and made to stand on and declaim from by veterans in office, by candidates crammed with expectation, and by experts in the tactics of dissimulation, conscientious citizens are asked to vote their convictions at the polls.

Thus the independent vote, given by those who diagnose a controversy, horoscope the names on a ticket, and dissect measures formulated as principles, turns the scale in a crisis in public affairs.

In verity, in the recent presidential election the issue of free trade disguised in the effigy of "revenue reform," versus protection, when bourbon survivors of the "lost cause" buried by Grant at Appomattox, and their allies and new enlistments, putting greed for patronage before welfare of country, by subterfuge and device sought to add to the "solid South," which is as sure to disintegrate as solid ice is to melt, the necessary number of electoral votes to compass the re-election of their candidate, the intelligent discrimination of the voter was vindicated in the majority verdict of the jury of states, in the returns which made Benjamin Harrison, the standard-bearer of citizen home rule in the American market, President Grover Cleveland's successor.

The commandments in the old Hebrew Testament, and the sermon on the mount, and the epistles of the apostles in the new Greek Testament, inspired utterances, remain unchanged foundations of religious belief.

Thus a man may hold fast to his religion and same time change his politics, because the forethoughtful citizen casts his ballot to make it count for measures urged in a canvass, not for men nominated on a ticket.

It is only the party bondman, whose stock in trade is his service to party through support of regular nominations, who nowadays boasts that he is "dyed in the wool" of party sheep, and strives to emulate the bell-wethers of the flock, that lacks the moral courage to vote the opposition party ticket, or paste a slip over a name he yearns to expunge.

The debate in the Washington Senate, since new year, is sufficient to open the eyes of any honest reader to the animus and the aim of tariff reformers, particularly among senators from states south of the thirty-fifth parallel of north latitude, east of the Rio Grande, a region wherein, in spots, the small vote counted demonstrates that the election poll does not represent or express majority public opinion. Nor is the contest ended elsewhere between protection, under which the cities and towns east and west of the Allegheny water-shed, and from Maine to California, have expanded and flourished, and free trade in the borrowed surtout of revenue reform; for the lobby is cosmopolitan in its undertakings, and its doctrinaires are never content nor satisfied short of having their own way; and then, having embodied a cranky idea in a statute, and paused an interval sufficient to incubate a new mischief against their country, try again to gratify an envious spleen or serve the foreigner of another land.

Henry Clay, who made Kentucky conspicuous in his day, advocated discrimination in tariff duties with the avowed intent and object

of protection to American manufactures, thereby to make the Union a great nation through development of internal resources scattered in generous profusion, and the upbuilding of an independent American market. And this grand result protection has since achieved; but the element of discontent would change this scene of rising forenoon effulgence for a flecked sky between mid-day and sunset.

Free trade need not be "pure and simple" to be effective in result; for where impost duty is less than the difference in wages paid in foreign and American establishments, and per consequence the foreign manufacturer can pay the duty imposed ostensibly for revenue, the American manufacturer will be undersold in the home market, whereupon the effect will be practical free trade, as conspirators against the domestic industries foresaw in the beginning.

Imagine the American market deriving most of its needed supplies of merchandise from foreign sources, and how long would it be before alien trusts and syndicates would put up prices to American consumers?

Germany, England and France, the three principal competitive manufacturing centres of Europe, jointly contain 122,000,000 of population within an area only one seventh part the size of the United States. And the "almighty dollar," duplicated into millions of extra profitable American trade, would appease national jealousy and subdue race hatred in mart and market, with prize money in sight and within reach of English, German and French dealers, who would lock arms and march to the banquet table to the tune of fraternity in trade.

And with the American market open to influx of foreign merchandise, there would be no contracts for new and additional industrial works, no tenants for new and additional dwelling-houses, and per consequence no new work for the employment of the building trades. On the contrary, industrial works would be closed and employes would be forced to scatter and thus decrease in number as orders for goods were filled from foreign sources.

To be sure, states and cities would not disappear, however they might have to rely on increment for increase, but change of occupation would ensue and reduced compensation follow as inevitably as night follows day; for there would be fewer industrial pursuits carried on without loss fatal to employer, and bread-winning would be a sore trial and severe ordeal with General Hunger in command, campaigning the country and foraging for food, which idle hands cannot earn wherewith to buy, when machinery is not in motion.

Was not the signal service organized, and is it not maintained, by the General Government to report the indications of the atmosphere

and telegraph the symptoms of the weather to the coast and throughout the land, to warn against storm and so prevent or mitigate disaster?

The General Government gathers and circulates despatches of the couriers of the weather, who ride the air currents and scatter messages of good or evil omen for man to heed.

Where foreign merchandise is imported in excess of the consumption of the market glutted, the inference is irresistible that the import duty on the redundant importation is too little to protect the home manufacturer and his workmen, who are partners in interest, against over-favored foreign importation. And testimony to this effect is sufficient cause for curative revision by Congress.

The recollections of the writer go back to a prior generation, when the importing merchant, located on Front Street or near the Delaware river docks, was in the foreground, paramount in influence; and the pioneer manufacturer, modest in the background, but gifted with a forecast of the future impending behind the horizon as he saw it crested with hope, was beset with difficulties and harassed with cares which he had to meet and surmount, else stop, shut his eyes to the vista, and succumb to circumstances, on the threshold of success.

WHAT CRISES AND EPIDEMICS DO.

Commercial crises are epochs symbolized with closed doors indicative of suspended payment, and should be pondered and provided against, to make return improbable, by sanitary finance promotive of general health in business bounds, as the pests of yellow fever and small-pox are barred out from return visit to communities tried in the ordeal of experience, by municipal afterthought founded in resurrected public spirit and by liberal expenditure for improvements. In a pestilence breath departs the body as in a trade revulsion "riches take wings and fly away."

Not many years ago the city of Memphis was smitten with the yellow fever, but the Tennesseeans did not despair; on the contrary, they went to work and graded and drained, till sewers discharged into the river the contents of ponds and pest-places, so that foul exhalations could no longer poison the atmosphere nor breed the plague.

In Philadelphia, the yellow fever by its visitations in 1793 and 1798 hastened the abandonment of wells and the erection of works for water supply from the Schuylkill river, first at Chestnut Street, next Fairmount.

And the cholera in New York city, in 1832, furnished a conclusive

reason for the Croton water supply, which succeeded the Manhattan island well-pump supply in 1842. Necessity is not a pioneer, but it is a force in the rear which makes the vehicle in a rut move ahead.

Congress, it may be said, is a college of physicians that might consider the indications of the business weather in market-places, and by supplemental legislation seek to steady prices, by removing or mitigating the cause of sudden and extreme fluctuations; thereby to insure longer periods of stability in values, so far as foresight and patriotism are available where the trade winds are variable, and oftentimes as puzzling and confounding as air waves to the weather bureau, organized to translate harbingers and signal storms approaching, but not yet in sight.

History honors with due mention and appreciation discoverers, explorers and inventors, and why should not history honor with a page or a paragraph the pioneers who founded the industries of the old Kensington of the past and laid the foundations of the new Kensington of the present, and so contributed to the manufacturing greatness which makes Pennsylvania conspicuous among the states and the Union distinguished among the nations of the world?

Nowadays, however—and herein is a sign of home progress—whatever the proceeding on the programme, the brainy men who manage the industries and give employment to wage-earners occupy the foreground; the importing agent of the foreign manufacturer the rear or background, meditating the audience in front, made up of American citizen employers and American citizen employes, mutually intent, watchful and appreciative of the scene.

The intelligent employe, and also every consumer of food who has lucid intervals, knows that if his employer cannot put his product into market and sell without loss, production will be stopped and pay-roll suspended, leaving the wage-hand in idleness.

Where the conscience of the invoice-maker is elastic, undervaluation makes the custom-house schedule a sliding scale of customs duties, whereby importations are largely increased beyond what the law, honestly construed, would warrant or justify; and especially is this true where ad valorem duties are levied instead of specific duties, the former stretchable meshes of a net, the latter hold-fast hooks on a line.

Wheat, corn, sugar, coffee and tea, and beef and mutton and other meat, are food staples in common use in the family, where the stomach must have consideration, as "self-preservation" is the confessed "first law of nature;" and wool, silk, cotton, flax, iron, tin and the precious metals and stones are elements in manufactures, bases of labor through successive stages of evolution, to finishing-touch for shelf and show-window and for sale across counter and on store floor.

Contemplate, in condensed catalogue, cotton in the pod, silk in the cocoon, wool on the sheep, feathers on the ostrich, goose and bird, fur on the seal, peltry on the backs of wild animals in the forest; coffee in the berry, tea in the leaf, sugar in the cane; metal in the ore, wood in the tree, ivory in the elephant's tusk; oil in the whale and in the well; vegetables in the garden and truck patch, cereals in the field, fruits in the orchard and vineyard, root crops and surface plants, berries on vines and bushes; and, finally, consider and attempt to sum the total of bread-winning occupations followed by man, who multiplies his productions, manual and mental, and presses into his service, as his aids, additional resources latent in nature, till, utilized by discovery and invention for common use, another forward step is made in the march of betterment.

And thus has the head of creation, man, the master-work of the Creator, narrowed the oceans into steam-ferries, hooped continents with railways, and made the planet's circumference of twenty-five thousand miles a circular race-course for round trips limited to a few weeks in the steamship and railway car, and so with submarine cable and telegraph wire superadded made the antipodean populations, who stand feet to feet, both the same distance from the centre of gravity, correspondents in cosmopolitan intertrade.

Advanced knowledge and promoted workmanship are typified in clay in the potter's hand, painted porcelain which comes out of the pottery oven polished for the parlor; and also in material of fine texture out of the shop of tailor, dressmaker and milliner, made into garments for manhood, womanhood and youth.

What is there visible, when not looking into the sky, nor out on the ocean, nor into the wilderness or rural country, save the work of man's head manifest in the work of man's hand?

WORTH ONLY MILLS IN THE GROUND BUT MILLIONS UNDER ROOF.

Is not the new municipal building in Philadelphia a pile of bricks and marble, the first of clay burned in Pennsylvania kilns, the latter stone from Massachusetts quarries? Is not the great pile, in its totality and its parts, from basement to tower-top, a time-surviving monument of remunerated labor, a witness of work paid for by the annually assessed taxpayers of Philadelphia?

Is not the Baldwin locomotive engine, which courses the iron way in the Australasias and other distant lands as in the United States, the outcome of graduated labor, unskilled in the pit where the ore is

a deposit of nature, skilled in the erecting-shop where the iron steed is caparisoned for the race it is to run?

And is not the contract price of a locomotive, less the royalty paid on ore in the ground, interest on capital invested in works and materials and on cash fund used in management during progress of construction, jointly a small part of total cost, made up of sums distributed among employes in payment for labor?

Where large establishments accumulate capital and additional hands are employed to fill additional orders, such result is the consequence of good management, whereby a small profit on a large product, a small sum multipliable many times, is by simple arithmetic expanded into a considerable aggregate. And in this way it is that wealth accumulates where transactions are large and yield a profit to proprietors, a conclusion advantageous directly or indirectly to everybody in a community. Home circulation of money makes home trade active.

When the balance of an account for a year or a series of years is *debited* to profit and loss, then the employe ought to consider and realize that his employer is carrying on business at a loss to himself, a performance which cannot be continued long without bankruptcy and ruin and consequent transfer of operations to other parties and perhaps to another place.

The failures which occur every year are enough to convince a sensible employe that labor is not always profitable to him who pays for it.

In verity the enemy of the employe is the salary or fee-paid agitator, perhaps an alien "who left his country for his country's good," and of whom it is impossible to make an industrious American citizen worthy the name, because he brought with him old hates to sow discord in a new field.

The act of naturalization might be made forfeitable where an alien born is proved unworthy the citizenship conferred on him, to exalt him to political equality with his fellow citizens. Crime against property and life is punishable with penalties which in one case is suspension from a beam by a rope, in another case the annulment of the elective franchise. Citizenship is a fee in the state, which is the aggregation of its citizens; therefore, a crime against citizenship is a crime against the state. Agrarians, nihilists and brawlers at enmity with society are enemies of the state.

ALIEN-BORN AGITATORS AS MISCHIEF-MAKERS.

Likewise there are offenders against the peace and order of society who do serious harm and hurt to their wives and children, and cause

heavy loss and entail serious consequences, besides those animals of prey tried in the courts of law for arson, burglary, forgery, counterfeiting, shop-lifting, pocket-picking and so forth, for which see the daily police reports in any large city. The chronology of strikes is milestoned with miscreants if not malefactors, actors of parts which only good men can perform on trying occasions.

And looking back into the record it is remarkable, particularly here in Philadelphia, how few strikes occur in establishments where the employes in large majority part are American born, compared with strikes in establishments where the employes in large majority part are adopted citizens recently naturalized, or aliens not naturalized nor fit for citizenship.

Immigrants are not all qualified to teach "natives to the manor born," either by precept or example, and should be content to follow "the customs of the country" which protects them with its equal laws, instead of presuming to lead where they do not know the way, and of course cannot see ahead, and of trying to embarrass where they do not comprehend or appreciate; thus and thereby disclosing their unfitness for citizenship in a republic, till they shall have tutored themselves to look back and down on the subject crown chattel condition they left behind, where the masses are still in bonds and behind bars, royalty and nobility meantime enjoying unbroken holiday among themselves as a superior breed of mortals, though cast in the mould of the first-born of Eve, the first mother of the human family.

How many varieties of animal life are extinct, except as fossils in geological formations, how many varieties of animal life there are in animated nature, we need not inquire; it is enough to know that man to-day, as also is the mummy in museums and books, is of the Adam pattern, and that all castes of society in kingdoms and despotisms are artificial impositions and shams, not in the economy of nature, but which only flourish under government founded on oppression.

Human rights are personal properties, some of which every one must yield for common protection, and this is even and exact justice. And as murder is a crime against life, so is privilege, though sanctioned by law which is not always justice, robbery of subjects deprived of those manhood attributes which oppressors appropriate to exalt themselves.

Where there is political equality there cannot be a nobility created by patent issued from the crown, nor hereditary title nor hereditary office. Free trade in British politics would abolish hereditary office; but to that the conservative Briton demurs, whilst he advocates free trade in merchandise manufactured for exportation!

THE CRUSADES AGAINST THE TURK—DIPLOMACY HIS ALLY.

Peter the Hermit, centuries ago, preached a crusade against the infidel, for the recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, where the Saviour in his brief sojourn sowed the seed of evolution; not evolution in the mute animal kingdom, where the mute animals are the same to-day as they were when Christ was born in Bethlehem, but evolution in religion and government, to which the world is indebted for the civil progress made subsequent to the crucifixion.

Since the crescent of the Saracen was mounted on the Christian-built church of Saint Sophia in Constantinople, where the cross was taken down after capture of the city by the Ottomans, the Turks have been tolerated in Europe, where they are trespassers and intruders, solely because western Europe is jealous of Russia, and from that cause intrigues to prolong the stay of the infidel, where he is a reproach and a stumbling-block, rather than see the ensign of the Christian Greek Church have free course through the straits of Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. There is no religion in "British interests," nor in diplomacy. But, meantime, events accumulate behind a barrier, as water rises behind a dam across a river, till the storm-flood overflows the structure, and the swollen stream makes its way with a gravity motor in its weight to force it forward over its banks till the sea is reached, and aspirations are realized in open doors to ocean navigation.

Dynamiters, brigands, fugitives, refugees and scalawags of mongrel breeds and dispositions, from the anarchistic seething pots of western Europe, come over to America not to climb upward to the height of citizenship, which their predecessors reached, and where their children stand mixed in the national throng, but rather with sullen intent to lower the citizenship, which is above their heads, though with steps to it in sight, down into the ditch of anarchistic degradation, there to burrow in the mud, and sniff the air for smells that offend nostrils familiar with the fragrance of flowers.

RAILWAYS AND WATERWAYS—WESTERN EUROPE, WASHINGTON, ST. PETERSBURG.

Is not a coat on a man's back a fleece of wool sheared from a sheep's back, woven into cloth in a loom, cut to measure and sewed together by a tailor, ready for wear?

In sooth, so many are the wants of civilized man, according to the weather of the seasons and the fashion of the times, that the spontaneous productions of nature do not, without his systematic adaptation

of "ways and means," suffice for his support. But what does the earth not produce that is essential to the happiness and health of man, whereon his labor is bestowed to supplement nature, and so discharge his duty to the Creator and his fellow creature?

Since "the breath of life" animated the first man and his helpmate, the only man and the only woman hand-made in the creation, has not man ploughed and delved, hunted and fished, and planted, grafted and pruned? and does not the earth to-day, as cultivated by man, yield in greater profusion and variety than ever before, owing to man's busy brain and willing hands?

Consider the advancement made in agricultural chemistry and in farming implements; in locomotive, marine and stationary engines; in machinery for furnace, factory, mill and mine; in illuminating gas, telegraphy, electric light, the telephone and the phonograph; in pottery, dyes and paints; and truly man, where the motors are free institutions, free schools and free churches, moves ahead to a time-table which in its successive editions scores a conspicuous progress. New ideas leaven the mind, and new lights penetrate into dark places.

For a starting point take year 1825, when the first railroad for passenger traffic, operated with steam-power, was opened in England to public use, and there and thereby developed a new mode of travel, which was the origin of a revolution in overland transit that, having spread throughout Christendom, is slowly proselyting pagan powers to its merits, mainly by concessions to promoters who favor foreign contracts.

Look back through a lifetime of less than fourscore years—there are many active citizens between three and fourscore years—and the retrospect will span more inventions made in the interest of mankind and put to practical use in the economies of peace and the tactics of war than are of prior record in any five hundred years of human annals.

In truth and earnestness, so near together have steam-power and electricity brought the extremities of the land surfaces between the poles that nations, which not long ago were sundered and separated by tedious voyages with wind for sailing power, are now so near together in steamship time that coaling stations at islands on the ocean routes of international intertrade are indispensable appurtenances to commercial powers, which have resources in men, means and metal, to command consideration and enforce their rights against craft, malice and the devices of the devil.

Ironclads are articles of merchandise, and may be purchased by any nation on tidewater having commerce afloat, a coast to guard and

sea-ports to defend. And the first-class powers, so called, that boast of large navies, have on the seas scattered ships that offer tempting prizes to fast cruisers and fleet privateers. Nations that make conquest for trade, in the abused name of "civilization," may call privateering piracy; but a letter of marque is a weapon of war as justifiable as any other commission to prey on an enemy. Wars are not yet over, and will not be ended till nations cease to covet the possessions of each other, and royal bodies embalmed in modern crypts shall move the antiquarian to comparison and contrast with mummies in the catacombs and pyramids. As between wars and crowned heads, one will continue to reappear till the other finally disappear, for crowned heads are breeders of wars.

The oceans which cover three fifths of the surface of the circumnavigated globe, and are in never-ceasing intercourse through interchange of currents that modify extremes of climate and mitigate extremes of temperature, are by universal consent open to free navigation a few miles out from shore.

And the landed surface of the earth, made up of areas containing jointly fifty-five million square miles of territory and fifteen hundred million inhabitants, is the burying-ground of mortals homeward returned to dust; and same time the birthplace of ideas inscribed on monuments erected to founders, builders, patriots, statesmen and benefactors, along the worn roads travelled by the living millions, bearing the cares of life on their backs or in gripsacks as the case may be; and meantime motor the machinery of government in ways to preserve order and save society from anarchy, so that "chaos may [not] come again," to cause darkness where God said, "Let there be light."

Nevertheless, wearers of crowns and ministers of state, pencil in hand, on a map of the globe as on a slate, concoct schemes for transfer of jurisdiction of territory and alteration of boundary line, all the while extolling what they style "civilization" as if they were missionaries of the One who himself said his kingdom is not of this world; and whose naturalization law will keep wicked potentates and all titled and untitled sinners out of citizenship in his father's universe, where immortality is everlasting, to certified immigrants of all tongues and tints, whose faith, as in olden time, is "a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night" on their exploring tour to the gates which St. John saw in a vision as described in Revelation.

The steam engine, powerful to drive the machinery harnessed to it, worn out, goes to dust in the rust of the scrap-heap. And man, howsoever uplifted on honors above his fellows, goes to dust like the lowliest of mortals.

Dust and immortality, oblivion and eternity ; into these two conditions God divides the universe of nature. "Man struts his brief hour upon the stage" and disappears. "Oh why should the spirit of mortal be proud" on the middle division of the route between the cradle and the coffin—youth and age?

What is there beyond the thunder, where silence reigns and mystery dwells in the vast domain of space, above the atmosphere, whence no tidings come, though through it light finds passage from the sun and the sun-lighted satellites?

The danger is in the lightning which flashes its bolt before the voice of thunder is heard in the air in tones understood, not in warning, but in consequence of concussion overhead, the peril having already passed in the electric spark descended.

And so we move, under the forces of nature above us, amid the forces of mankind round about us. After death comes the judgment which is to determine final destination and condition.

In the distribution of territory and population over the globe, the hemisphere north of the equator, in land area and inhabitants, largely surpasses the hemisphere south of the equator, where there is vast expanse of waters.

And in this connection pause at the fact, for a pregnant fact it is, that the two principal oceans which float the fleets of commerce pour their tides into the docks of American Union cities three thousand miles apart, east and west, thus opening direct ways over the waves east to Europe and Africa, and west to Asia and Australia ; and the reason is manifest why the nation of the United States must prevent the absorption of particular islands in or near mid-ocean, by powers greedy and grasping for their own exclusive aggrandizement, as they are envious and jealous lest nations outside of western Europe, whither European fulmination does not reach in force to command acknowledgment, may obtain foothold, where they themselves desire possession ; and where the murmurs of the covetous only elicit defiance, for the United States will establish by treaty or otherwise precautions and accommodations adjusted to American interests and American commercial rights, throughout the open waters which wash all coasts and are free to all flags.

An abstract right may be conceded in diplomatic correspondence, and its enjoyment be circumvented by crafty management ; but government is practical business, and a right to free navigation around the world implies the right to stop at way stations for supplies.

What profit would a long line of railroad yield to its owners, without stopping places between its termini for traffic, fuel and water? And a water route to the antipodes in its necessities and needs for the

accommodation of its traffic, in an operating sense, is the same as a continental route overland, because there are commercial courses between continents as well as across continents; and there are water divisions and land divisions in commercial girdles, as where paths for ships are drawn across waves on maps, or iron tracks for cars are laid across ties on the ground.

Contemplate Russia outstretching from Behring Strait to the Baltic Sea, and the United States from Alaska to Maine, both inclusive, and count how many of the degrees of longitude, how many of the miles in the circumference of the earth, are within the jurisdiction of these two greatest and most favored by nature of the powers of earth, so different in their institutions, so steadfast in their friendship, each busied with its own business and manifest mission to admit new states or equivalent territory, and meantime make better the condition of the emancipated slave and serf, and so exalt one into a citizen, the other as a subject.

After Russia shall have adjusted its boundaries and broken the bottle in which European diplomacy would prolong its confinement, and shall have secured a way untrammelled by enemies to the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, and shall have realized its dream and aspiration in a completed railway to the north Pacific Ocean abreast of California, Oregon, Washington and Alaska, then will the power that emancipated the serfs liberalize its laws for the betterment of the hundred and more millions of homogeneous subjects concreted in the Russian race.

Measure with the mind and compute with figures—the process needs no imagination—the actual material, industrial and educational progress made, each according to its opportunities and surroundings, by the United States and Russia in the hundred years gone by.

Truly Washington and St. Petersburg are the capitals of the two concreted races destined to star parts on the stage where the drama of government is the play, and the actors and spectators are constituent parts of the passing generation moving on, anxious for betterment here, hoping for betterment hereafter when the final goal is reached in the "Father's house" of "many mansions."

Same time consider, too, the small area of the nations of western Europe, and wonder at the inflated ambition of its courts to extend empire with ironclads and firearms in far-away places; and who can fail to recall empires out of the tomes of the past, founded on circumscribed nationalities, afterward outspread by conquest, but which do not exist even in name, except between lids in volumes on the shelves in libraries, not on the desks in schools?

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS—FOREIGN TRADE.

In international account with foreign nations—and colonies are foreign populations—the United States ought to be and can be a creditor nation.

In truth, for a series of twelve years, ending June 30, 1887, the balance of foreign trade was uniformly in favor of the United States, and will be so again and continue so if Congress so elect and work to compass that end, through discrimination for protection in tariff legislation.

For the year ended June 30, 1885 (President Cleveland's term commenced March 4, 1885, and ended March 3, 1889), the excess of exports over imports was $164,662,426

For the year ended June 30, 1888, the foreign trade international account stands thus:

Total imports of merchandise, . .	$723,957,114	
Total imports of gold and silver, . .	59,337,986	
Grand total of imports, . . .		$783,295,100
Total exports of merchandise, . .	$695,954,507	
Total exports of gold and silver, . .	46,414,183	
Grand total of exports, . . .		742,368,690
Excess of imports over exports, ...		$40,926,410

Included in the sum of imports for the year ended June 30, 1888, is this astounding item, to wit:

"Articles manufactured, ready for consumption," $144,804,155.

This item of competitive manufactures imported in a twelvemonth ought to fire the indignation of the citizen, and move his wits to work in the right direction.

To the bread-winner in America, the home market is of paramount importance, since outside markets everywhere are open to the products of the lower-priced labor of overcrowded foreign lands.

GREAT CITIES ARE NOT ON OCEAN SHORES.

Washington at the first election for President of the United States under the Constitution received the unanimous electoral vote of ten states, not including New York, North Carolina or Rhode Island, the first named having failed to pass an electoral election law and the other two not having adopted the Constitution, was inaugurated in New York city April 30, 1789, a fact reaffirmed in its centennial celebration this present year.

In the year 1790 the first United States census was taken; total

population of the Union in that year, 3,929,214. The present population of Pennsylvania is not less than 5,250,000. This total is surpassed by only one state of the Union, and outnumbers the population of not a few of the countries of the world.

In North and South America, Mexico and Brazil are the only two nations that exceed the state of Pennsylvania in population. And in further proof that Pennsylvania is national in its proportions is the high-spire fact that it originates more tonnage and contributes more traffic to transportation lines than any other state; that its railroad receipts are larger than any other state; and that in the elements of material greatness it overshadows its neighbors.

In 1888 seventy million tons of coal, anthracite and bituminous, in not very unequal proportions, and more than half the coal product of the Union, were mined in Pennsylvania; to its coal add its deposits of iron ore and its marvellous petroleum and natural-gas wells, also its acreage of wheat, corn, tobacco and miscellaneous farm crops, cereal, root and fruit, and what a concentration and variegation of natural bounties is displayed in its utilized productions, found in its subterranean veins and reservoirs and gathered, cut and picked out of its soils and off its surface!

Philadelphia, the metropolis of Pennsylvania, founded by the founder of the state, for the state and city, begotten of the brain of William Penn, were born twins on the Delaware river, where they were both cradled and developed, the one into a colony which became a commonwealth, the other into a seaport city, the latter, in its first century, the birthplace and cradle of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, two events which stirred the hearts of mankind and started a new departure in the world's affairs.

This city of Pennsylvania toleration and national independence, containing a million and a quarter of inhabitants, many of them housed in their own freehold homes, a conspicuous and distinguishing characteristic, is not equalled nor approached in number of dwelling-houses, nor in variety of handicraftsmen, by any city in America; is surpassed in population by but one city in America, New York, and by only four cities in Europe, London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna, all four inland, distant from the ocean coast; is environed with farms of exceeding fertility and productiveness, from which places of plenty to the Philadelphia market the haul is short by wagon and car, and by boat, steam and sail, from river and bay landings; the same, too, is true of the prolific peninsula between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays, comprising the state of Delaware, the eastern shore counties of Maryland and the Virginia triangle ending at Cape Charles, the whole region famous throughout the country for its peach-orchards, oyster-

beds, fisheries, farm staples and table supplies, and which enjoys "rapid transit" to Philadelphia for its perishable, canned and otherwise prepared food products.

The marl belt on the New Jersey side of the Delaware river, into which tide-water streams penetrate, is a truck region which must be travelled through in saddle or on wheels to be understood and appreciated in its superabundance of crops, comprising garden and farm and orchard and vineyard staples, table delicacies, berries and fruits, from a cornstalk and ear of corn Illinois size, and watermelons and pumpkins big as bushels, to the smallest seed of aromatic plants.

The ocean, distant sixty miles, or ninety minutes railway time, is near enough for pleasure and health seekers and sufficiently far away to assure quiet to guests who prefer not to be too near an ocean pier, where steamboats deliver excursionists, a thousand at a time, as at Long Branch, by steamboats from New York city; and where the sojourner, if sensitive and unused to crowds, sometimes feels that he might as well be in the Bowery, in New York city, as on the bluff at Long Branch.

Rowdyism travels on its muscle, not for recreation, but for a row, and thus a few riotous persons destroy the peace and comfort of a thousand people, especially women and children, who cannot be disturbed in a car as on a boat.

The railway fare to Atlantic City is phenomenally small, and the railway service superb on competitive lines.

With the ocean in front of its sandy beach, where the surf rolls and the breakers cast their white caps to the bathers, with salt meadows and salt bays in the rear, with inlets from the sea to the mainland and a navigable thoroughfare between the inlets, Atlantic City is insulated in salt water and salt air, like a diamond breastpin sparkling in a shirt bosom.

And whilst Atlantic City is a popular Philadelphia resort in the summer months and earlier and later seasons, it numbers among its throng of guests thousands of cosmopolitan patrons.

Moreover, the medical profession throughout the United States prescribe trips to Atlantic City to thousands of patients. It was founded in a true prophecy; it was builded in a profound confidence.

There is also excellent railway service from Philadelphia to Cape May and Long Branch and the many seaside resorts between these historical New Jersey beaches, both of which were settled by Philadelphians.

Pennsylvanians and Jerseymen may occasionally scold, but so do husband and wife, and brother and sister, and even sisters and brothers and lovers may scold each other; but ebullition of temper does

not sunder family compact nor fraternal ties, and the beauty of temper where it is powdery is that it ends in smoke which clears away and is succeeded by reconciliation and forgiveness.

Jerseymen make good Philadelphians; and Pennsylvania and New Jersey, though divided by a water line, have the same geological formation above the head of the tide, and are concreted to stay concreted according to the law of wedlock and physical nature.

The Delaware river and bay are available for aquatic sports and for cheap excursions by steamboat to the Delaware breakwater at the ocean gate, distance one hundred miles, salt water most of the way, or for shorter distances up and down the river in any kind of craft.

Philadelphia, furthermore, has in its rear not only the state of Pennsylvania, which is the equivalent of a nation of respectable rank among the powers, but including it, the first vertebra in the backbone, a continent three thousand miles across from Atlantic tidewater in the Delaware river ship channel, to the Pacific Ocean where California, Oregon and Washington, three splendid states, border the coast; the whole of which vast area is open throughout to interstate intertrade; is covered with a web, not of spiderwork, but of permanent mechanism comprising half the railway mileage of the world, and providing transportation facilities for safe, sure and swift communication to the cities and towns which dot the map of the states, between the far-apart east and west ocean boundary lines, available in peace and in war for prompt delivery of freights and the conveyance of passengers and troops on fast time.

San Diego, San Francisco, Columbia river, Puget Sound, are the terminals of continental railway routes; and at the east every seaport from Galveston to Portland has railway connection with the national network, and so the courses of trade ramify the entire system from sea to sea, from the colony of Canada to the republic of Mexico.

Havre, on the English channel, is the seaport of Paris, the city of world-wide attraction and fame. Hamburg, on a river of the North Sea basin, is the seaport of Berlin, the capital of Germany. Trieste, on the Adriatic, is the seaport of Austria. London, the wonder-city in population and size, in concentrated trade and accumulated wealth, is fifty miles up the river Thames, and three hundred and fifty miles distant from the Atlantic Ocean at the mouth of the English channel, making from London a roundabout route for its immense shipping trade, to get outside and outsight of land, where all ways are open on the waters. No city ever approached London in its promiscuous trade and miscellaneous transactions.

Philadelphia is a city in the midst of its every-day market supply, which is often in overflow quantity from the surrounding country.

Let any intelligent man reconnoitre the marl belt from Bordentown to Salem; the market trains and market boats which arrive from the South at the river docks and the railway depots; then start out from the Broad Street station westward through Chester, Lancaster and Dauphin counties to Harrisburg, where from Capitol Hill he can look across the Susquehanna river into the mountain-bounded and ore-ballasted Cumberland valley, celebrated for its limestone lands; from Harrisburg, having looked beyond without going beyond, let him turn back homeward through the Lebanon section of the matchless Kittatinny valley past the inexhaustible Cornwall iron-ore hills to Reading, the chief city of teeming Berks county; thence, looking to the right and left, down the Schuylkill valley to the city; and after such a circuit he will the better understand and appreciate why Philadelphia is the forecasted London of America in future time; but without the poverty and pauperism of the mighty emporium on the Thames, where royalty and nobility luxuriate in affluence, and a dynastic court with patronage and power reproves, in the contrast it presents, the misery caused by lack of food; and where the wonders visible are the works of men "in trade," in finance, commerce and manufactures, "British interests" which are the Briton's pride. The court may draw the fashion line at "trade;" but without "trade" in London, what would become of fashion at Windsor? That nobility is the test of fashion and royalty, the proof of "divine right," are pleas which will perish by the ballot when the governed govern for themselves. Castes will be recast without label, and merit be made a legal tender for admission through all doors.

What parts of France and Belgium and Holland are to London in the vital and transcendent matter of daily market food supply—for where there are empty food stalls there are famine faces—New Jersey and Delaware are to the daily market food supply of Philadelphia. The market sights in Philadelphia on the dawn of market days, in its market-houses, along its docks and at its depots, are among the food-supply wonders of the day—witnesses of its unbounded capacity for the subsistence of millions of population at minimum cost. And rapid as is its increase of indwellers, it is less rapid than the increase of food products in territory tributary to it. This is a consideration which cannot be belittled nor ignored, and it is a consideration that is not overlooked by those who survey the seaboard for a site, before they pitch a tent and plan an establishment.

The immense sugar refinery of Claus Spreckels, the California millionaire at the head of the Pacific coast sugar trade, now nearing completion on the Delaware river below the old navy yard, a commanding and unsurpassed location, combining defensible proximity to

the ocean by a deep and broad ship channel with transportation proximity in mileage to the seaboard cities and along the Allegheny slope, and proximity in railway time to Pittsburgh and Erie City and throughout the Mississippi valley to Denver and St. Paul and the region of the lakes to Duluth, is an illustration of the fact that there is a logical sequence to united advantages, appurtenances, facilities and ground space for operations on a grand scale, as there is a logical sequence to sound premises in an argument urged by an able pleader in fitting words.

Claus Spreckels grasped the situation on the Pacific, and builded successfully on his plans.

Claus Spreckels grasped the situation on the Atlantic, examined New York and Baltimore, and out of the assorted circumstances, measured, weighed and marked, followed the conclusion that Philadelphia filled his specifications, material and mental.

Jefferson said, "Error of opinion may be safely tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

Philadelphia is a city of toleration; and if error of opinion lead an investor on his travels to make first choice of another place on tidewater, north or south, reason, left free to combat the error, is sure to counsel transfer to Philadelphia as a better base for fiscal rehabilitation, as it is emphatically the best place for investment in a new enterprise intended to be permanently useful and successful.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TRADE.

The trade of England in predominant part is with its own colonies and foreign nations, and therefore is external trade with foreigners and colonial subjects; the English home market, being circumscribed in square miles, and overflowing with redundant population of minimum per capita means, including a large percentage of bread-winners on low wages, not a small part of the time unemployed, does not consume a moiety of the manufactured products offered for sale in the home kingdom.

Hence Great Britain is constrained to seek abroad buyers of its manufactures, and rely on foreign countries for more than a moiety of its food necessities! Food for a fortnight is about the limit of supply on hand, a short period to withstand a blockage or a disturbance of the carrying trade, with ironclads and roving privateers.

The possibilities of war are unknown; the cost of war in life, debt and tax is understood and felt. What may happen between a declaration of war and a treaty of peace is not forecasted, cannot be foreseen.

The French Republic was an unexpected consequence of the German-Franco war of 1870–71, alike to emperors Napoleon and William, both of whom were imperialists, whose mutual trust was in standing armies for unlimited lease of power, not in privilege ignoring constitutions, for throne foundations.

What may come next out of the womb of time, which has miraculous power of conception, and is pregnant at present, is beyond the ken of humankind; and this ignorance of what may be in ambush, front or rear, or front and rear, is one of the principal causes why, in Europe, "the dogs of war" are held with leashes round their necks.

The right and wrong of war, the morality of war, the verdict of the witness generation and the judgment of God are unheeded monitors of conscience where personal ambition is rampant, as when Louis Napoleon ordered the coup d'etat of December 2, 1851, in Paris; and are considerations unconsidered where dynastic interests are paramount and opportunity to gratify covetousness by conquest and capture of spoils makes success seem sure; as by the wresting of Sleswick and Holstein from Denmark by Germany, and the occupation of the diamond fields in Africa, and the seizure of the ruby mines in Burmah, by England.

The trade of the United States, in overwhelming preponderance part, is internal trade, reciprocal throughout the states, from which the undertakers, not the doctors, have removed nearly all the warts which, surgeons say, are the pin-headed pimples of the "lost cause" incapacitated for reconstruction by reason of mental "cussedness," and unfitness for any use except to talk in Congress in favor of free trade, sugar-coated and called by another name; and where the concreted population, representing all the states, in receipt of better pay, buy and consume, per head, more merchandise, comprising clothing and food, than any other people under the sun, moon and stars. And, besides, the population of the Union is now so large and is increasing so rapidly that the urban centres, cities and towns, large and small, seaboard and inland, where trade and manufactures furnish employment, constitute the most reliable, only permanent and very best markets for the consumption of the products of American agriculture.

The nations of the earth are known to each other, and their areas, like town lots, are diagramed and recorded. Habits and customs, resources, religion, forms of government, and all things that pertain to political and social condition, are the common property of mankind, accessible to the student, which word, in America, includes everybody who reads the tariff talks in Congress, and the news from everywhere, of everything retrogressive or progressive. The student is excelsior, propria persona, who continues on the march so long as he can see

ahead, reconnoitre the surroundings, digest the situation, and till commanded to halt at the gate of the next world, "the bourne whence no traveller returns."

Nowhere, so well as in the American Union, do the sojourners on earth enjoy the blessings of life.

The Union is one family of states and territories, born in constitutional wedlock. The bagpipe in its legislative halls, where modest men do the work, and fifes in newspaper offices, may be blown to make a noise, but there is no wall to fall down, as when Gabriel sounded his trumpet at Jericho.

MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL, ENGLAND.

The states east of the Mississippi river are importers of wheat from states west of the mighty waterway. The wheat growers of India, Russia, Roumania and other foreign countries which compete with American wheat in Europe do not seek, for they could not find, a market in the United States.

Manchester, England, which is the commercial centre of a manufacturing region dotted with industrial towns in excess of any other locality of same surface in densely-peopled England, is building at prodigious cost a ship canal to the Mersey river, thereby to give Manchester independent communication with the Irish Sea and St. George Channel past Liverpool, without break of cargo, in ocean steamship or coasting craft. In a word, to make Manchester a seaport independent of Liverpool, which succeeded and supplanted Chester on the Dee.

And the very large sum it cost Manchester to obtain the necessary authorization from Parliament to build, with its own money, a ship canal to give it independence of Liverpool, and lower freights on imported raw material, as, for instance, cotton in bale, and also on manufactures for export, is matter for contrast and commentary on the British boast of free trade. Liverpool has long enjoyed capacious shipping docks; but Liverpool objected to Manchester having shipping docks, though Manchester, with its contiguous and surrounding suburbs, in population outnumbers Liverpool and its neighborhood.

To be sure, Manchester is farther than Liverpool from the ocean as Philadelphia is farther than New York city from the ocean; but Manchester and Philadelphia have each a surrounding population, whilst Liverpool and New York may be considered vestibule cities with bulk windows dressed for show, Liverpool with English goods for export to America, New York with foreign goods imported for American consumption. It is for its imports of foreign merchandise that New York city is most distinguished. Foreign trade is its ine-

briating stimulant; and when it shall have been weaned from that vice, it may prefer to change its foreign base to an American base, and become as national and patriotic in its politics as it was enthusiastic and demonstrative during the three days devoted to the centennial celebration of Washington's inauguration, of which April 30, 1889, was the hundredth anniversary, notwithstanding New York did not vote for Washington, nor cast its vote, at the first election for President of the United States. On its allegiance to protection New York city may make itself a mart of American manufactures and cease to pose in the role of star mart of foreign goods, and no longer spout a gas-well of non-illuminating foreign opinion on the leading topic in American affairs.

New York state, however, in political pounds avoirdupois is an American matron with an American face above an American heart, expressive of conscience and faith; but the politics of its transitory free-trade metropolis are so offensive that they afflict the country with snivels akin catarrh in the nose. Tammany costs its state matron, not its patron saint, many handkerchiefs.

PENNSYLVANIA THE KEYSTONE OF THE ARCH OVER THE NATIONAL PASS AND PASSAGE-WAY.

In Pennsylvania the letter P prevails in the alphabet, inasmuch as it stands for Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, protection, prosperity and progress. Pennsylvania, homogeneous, happy and content in its place in the arch, in the books and on the map, and animated with a mutual state pride and national pride, which jointly possess the quality of the sun of always keeping warm, never growing cold, is bounded by six abutting neighbor states of fraternal affiliations and sympathetic aspirations, social, matrimonial and commercial. Reciprocity pervades and surrounds Pennsylvania with congenial family ties and harmonious trade relations.

It has three far-apart border ports on three divergent navigations: Philadelphia, its metropolis, seaport and transatlantic mart; Pittsburgh, at the head of the Ohio river, its gate to the Mississippi valley; Erie city, on Lake Erie, the distributing basin of the inland lakes. These three ports, ocean, river and lake—Atlantic, Mississippi, St. Lawrence—are all in political accord on the vital question in political economy applied to American matters, to stop the downslide from the American summit of citizen manhood to the starvation sub-cellar of the European subject.

Agriculture and manufactures, it may be repeated, are the pillars of the arch of states, of which Pennsylvania was baptized the Key-

stone when the thirteen Atlantic coast colonies were made thirteen independent states, and of which "arc of triumph" every state is a supporting part, concreted to withstand pressure and weight, storm and time. And by which awarded and affirmed designation, Pennsylvania was known through the century following the Declaration of Independence, and still bears and is proud of and will cling to and uphold, because it is appropriate and belongs to her, the original arch of states having meanwhile been raised higher on its pillars, with emblematic stones typical of new states admitted into the Union fold, and the Keystone lifted up a loftier wedge in its exalted place; till now forty-two states span the continent and support the constitution, and territorial candidates are knocking for admission as states at the doors of the Capitol at Washington, well aware that the capacity of the national household is not full nor limited, for possibilities may open its doors to neighbors, of a generation wiser than the present, anxious to come in and be baptized American citizens.

Pennsylvania is the pass and passage-way figuratively spanned by the arch of states, not between mountains but between waters, at Philadelphia and Erie city, one a gateway open on a ship channel to the seacoast and the world, the other a gateway open to the national reservoirs of fresh water and internal trade, between Oswego and Duluth, terminal ports of American lake navigation.

Human nature responds to the glory of the rainbow in the heavens, and love of country inspires admiration of the ideal arch of the states, across the union pass and passage-way in Pennsylvania; for under the arch and between its pillars, the pass always an open passage-way, are all the overland routes of transportation and travel, railroads and all roads on Union ground between Boston and San Francisco, New York and New Orleans; or in other words, between the East and North, comprising New York and New England, and the South and West; and by the "West" is meant the vast territory west of the main summit of the Allegheny mountain water-shed in Pennsylvania, continued thence along the Allegheny main summit to the south boundary of Tennessee, the rainfall dividing line between the Atlantic slope and the Mississippi basin, where the East ends and the West begins; and the South, consisting of the nine contiguous coast-bound states, including the cotton belt, between the Potomac river and the Rio Grande river boundary of Texas, with Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans and Galveston for its export cities, six important tidewater outlets on the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico.

West Point too, at the head of York river or estuary, is sure to command increasing consideration as a Virginia shipping port and tidewater terminus of south and west railways.

Geographically and in every national and patriot sense, Independence Hall in Philadelphia, the national Capitol in Washington and the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon are shrines in the heart of citizenship. And if Virginia had kept on as she started out, and as her early statesmen mapped out for her guidance, how different indeed would be her influence and rank in the Union to-day!

NEW JERSEY AND CALIFORNIA THE BUCKLE STATES OF THE UNION WAISTBAND.

The states dovetailed in the Union shield when, thirteen in number, they framed and ratified the Constitution and inaugurated George Washington first President; and the states dovetail now, when they number forty-two, under Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third President, time one hundred years.

On the waistband of the Union New Jersey is letter A and California letter Z—two good states to buckle and keep the waistband tight and preserve the symmetry of the body politic. New York state (except Manhattan Island) is in fraternal relationship and accord with the New England states and with Pennsylvania and the chessboard of great states westward across the continent, and outweighs in influence and outcounts in ballots the dead-meat majority which Manhattan Island casts into the election balance for foreign account.

New York state did so outweigh New York city in 1888, and will do likewise in 1892; for the foreign plea of free trade is not a graft to change the fruit of our American tree, nor will foreign free-trade seed reproduce its kind in protection American soil.

Agriculture and manufactures understand each other, and have a common stake in the United States; whereas the interests of free trade are identified with manufacturers in Europe, who covet the American market, but take care to order breadstuffs from India, the Black Sea and the Danube, or anywhere else, if the price be a cent a bushel under the American rate. Western farmers know and understand this foreign trade custom, and emissaries and agents of foreigners in New York city cannot controvert a truth which printed market reports make public.

Time halts for nobody on the road, nor does it send back to inquire who was left on the way, but leaves casualties to the doctor and after him the undertaker.

Meanwhile the prodigal sons of secession, or the sons of the ardent sons of secession, will have returned to the father's house or the grandfather's house, to receive a greeting and a blessing, also pocket-money and a full meal, in outfit for a fresh start under a new dispen-

sation, with a new set of books. And more than this what can a young man expect who yearns to start out on his travels, not to traverse a pedigree, but to earn a livelihood and probably make a fortune and a name?

THE ERIE CANAL AND WALL STREET.

The Erie Canal, a principal artery of the system of artificial waterways which succeeded the turnpikes and common roads, has had its triumphs and survives its best days. And artificial cities, founded or forced too fast on its performances and promises, though still growing in some of their limbs, are meantime decaying in some of their roots and top twigs. And the butcher-broker of the Wall Street market, where the abattoir for the slaughter of corporation bonds and stocks is called the Stock Exchange, will throw away his cleaver and with his knife in a sheath make for the woods to corral Indians for a wild-west campaign, showing wherein is the difference between uncivilized scalping in the Rockies and civilized skinning n Wall Street.

The bull and bear still seesaw the stock board, but the public distrust Wall Street and its ways, and hence transactions foot smaller totals than in yore times.

At the same time, it is not amiss to consider that the buying and selling of capital shares on a margin is nothing more than a phase of credit which has a face with all the typical features, for where there is trade there is speculation, present or near; but speculation on credit—and the superstructure of business is credit, whatsoever may be its base—is altogether different from the crimes against property committed by wrecking credit to cause depreciation, justify foreclosure and reorganization, and call the process financiering with success; and without fear of the penitentiary, which may have its entrance toward the court of law, with a byway between where wolves in lambs' wool may walk, without molestation from the judiciary or the church.

BANK CLEARING-HOUSE RETURNS.

The clearing-house returns of the banks only include payments made with checks which are deposited in bank and go through the clearing-house. The clearing-house returns compass about one half the total transactions in trade.

Nevertheless, an exhibit of the gross clearances of the principal clearing-houses of the United States, for the year ending December 31, 1888, is interesting, instructive and suggestive; showing, first, that New York city, the principal custom-house of valuation and undervaluation of dutiable imports and the headquarters of the Stock

Exchange, where bankers and brokers congregate as in London, Paris and Berlin—the three principal bourses in Europe—is at present paramount in clearing-house returns; that second is Boston, the counting-house of Massachusetts and the hub of New England; that third is Philadelphia, the city of homes and the hive of assorted occupations in the wage and fee and salary-earning professions and trades, in all the mechanic and fine arts and learned professions; that fourth is Chicago, the present conspicuous lake port and liveliest mart of overland traffic by railway train in the booming West and Northwest; that fifth is St. Louis, foremost in western river annals as the focus of steamboat navigation on the majestic Mississippi and its lengthy tributaries; the emporium of a state munificently endowed by nature, sure to develop and increase in more rapid ratio after it shall have weeded out of Congress its disingenuous doctrinaire misrepresentatives and decided to cast its vote and influence for its own behoof in favor of protective duties on foreign imports.

In the zone of states on the fortieth parallel, next to California Missouri is the largest in size; it is the pivotal state in the Mississippi basin, was organized as a territory in 1812, and was admitted into the Union as a state in 1821. It is the oldest state west of the Mississippi river, except Louisiana. It was a long time represented in the Senate of the United States by Thomas H. Benton, an able, patriotic and far-sighted statesman, who rendered his country distinguished service, and made Missouri a conspicuous state as Henry Clay made Kentucky a conspicuous state, as Andrew Jackson made Tennessee a conspicuous state, as Daniel Webster made Massachusetts a conspicuous state, and as John C. Calhoun made South Carolina a conspicuous state, all in the same generation. And when the public characters named (except the last) passed away, they left a fragrance of gallantry and popularity about the names of their states which clings to them still, albeit the succeeding (present) generation has seen fit to put in some of their places undersize successors.

Names stand for states, except that Washington and Grant stand for more than a state each, in embodiment of the nation.

Among mankind Washington and Grant stand for America, and America, in brevity, means the United States.

But the fact that Missouri seems to prefer the politics of Arkansas and Kentucky to the states in confraternity east, north and west of Missouri, suggests a comatose condition of mind or a "hindsight" crookedness of vision not found up the Ohio north side, nor up the Mississippi either side, nor up the Missouri either side, where the states all voted the Harrison and protection ticket in 1888, and where industry and enterprise enjoy the rewards and blessings of prosperity and plenty.

Missouri is a midland state with a market round about it, open to railroads and rivers, available in all directions for the cheap transportation of its farm products and stores of mineral wealth.

That Missouri will ultimately move to the side to which its material interests gravitate is manifest, because it has two important cities, St. Louis and Kansas City, one at either end, like Philadelphia and Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania; and out of its two principal centres of trade and intelligence will radiate a warm proselyting public opinion in favor of protection in behalf and behoof of agriculture and manufactures, the pillars of the arch of states.

The statement which follows suffices to show how Philadelphia stands among the cities west of the Hudson river in the

BANK CLEARANCE ACCOUNT FOR 1888.

Philadelphia,		$3,204,139,077
Baltimore,	$620,587,730	
Pittsburgh,	581,580,645	
Cincinnati,	495,733,675	
St. Louis,	900,478,878	
Kansas City,	421,725,956	
Denver,	134,349,418	
Six cities, Chesapeake Bay to Rocky Mountains,		3,154,456,302
Philadelphia over all six cities,		49,682,775

For the half year commencing January 1 and ending June 30, 1889, the account, compiled from the same authority, is as under, to wit:

Philadelphia,		$1,783,051,735
Baltimore,	309,748,714	
Pittsburgh,	315,348,474	
Cincinnati,	276,926,850	
St. Louis,	475,439,717	
Kansas City,	220,726,525	
Denver,	88,111,934	
		$1,686,302,214
Philadelphia over six cities named,		$96,749,521

It will be seen that Pittsburgh outranks Baltimore and Cincinnati—a substantial advance for Pittsburgh, which is now one of the three principal cities between the Allegheny and Rocky mountains.

For Philadelphia and Chicago the half-year figures between same dates, January 1 to June 30, 1889, are—

Philadelphia, ...	$1,783,051,735
Chicago, ...	1,597,821,009
Difference in favor of Philadelphia, . . .	$185,230,726

The evidences of accumulation of invested capital in Philadelphia are conspicuous in the lofty structures in dissimilar styles of architecture, on a costly but same time utilitarian scale, considering adaptation to use, recently erected, in progress or under contract, in the financial, insurance and mercantile quarter of the old city; and for witnesses of the expansion and outspread of the suburbs, there are thousands of new dwelling-houses and scores of establishments, arsenals and armories for artisans, in the campaign of domestic productions against alien importations, and which typical Pennsylvania institutions of industry were built for the manufacture of staples and miscellaneous materials by the assortment trades, including dry-goods, jewelry, mathematical and musical instruments, machinery and ships, furniture, articles of iron and other metals, male and female apparel, chemicals and dyes, medicines, stimulants and tonics, heaters and stoves and multitudinous novelties and notions; and where orders are filled for commercial travellers on the road and for dealers near by and distant, as easily as contracts and sales are made in the stores, agencies and offices here in the city, where protection has a constituency educated to the standard interests of the people of the commonwealth and country.

COTTON IN PAST TIME, IRON IN PRESENT TIME.

Without manufactures to employ men and stimulate trade in cities and towns, languishing indeed would be the condition of agriculture in the United States, as in agricultural countries destitute of manufactures.

In gone-by slavery times, prior to secession and rebellion, obituaried in the books, the cotton planter was in outlay oftentimes ahead of income, whereby he virtually mortgaged his next forthcoming crop to his creditors, and was often behindhand, short of funds.

The plantation owner of cotton lands and slaves did not sympathize with employer and employe in the manufacturing arts who manipulated the fibrous products of the field into the textile fabrics of the loom, thus putting the planter, weaver and wearer, three factors in the market, in concordant reciprocation, The planter preferred to perpetuate acreage reign in agricultural area, to artisan rule in city

and town mills and machine-shops. He sold cotton in bale as export raw material, and bought it back again in imported calico, muslin and thread, the original exported bale on its return converted into imported goods, realizing to the foreigner many times its raw cost, to offset the expense for labor employed in manipulation and cover profit for alien manufacturer and importing merchant.

No wonder capital did not accumulate in southern cotton export cities, as in cities east and west of the centre of total population of the Union in Ohio, nor that the old cotton states, where nullification was insidious treason and secession became armed rebellion, were outgrown by states not better endowed with natural resources, but more willing to co-operate in handiwork in useful pursuits, and so compass higher and more lasting results in the premiums which insure risk and reward enterprise.

Had the southern cotton states embarked in cotton manufactures when the New England states did, New England would not to-day so far lead the South in invested wealth and prospering industry.

But now that Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama are garnering gains out of manufacturing and mining ventures, particularly in the manipulation of cotton and iron and in mining coal, the prospect is that the noisiest of the tariff-tinkering agitators will be relegated to private life and disbarred from lobby practice; and that the policy of protection for protection will be made stable in congressional enactment, wisely adjusted to the interests of the country in its entirety, thus to save the millions of toiling men and women in America from the cheerless fate of the outnumbering bread-winners of overcrowded western Europe.

Surely there is no reason, unless it be that a little of the leaven of secession left "leaveneth the whole lump" of a state, why Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, continue in opposition and antagonism to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, all waistband states, all parallel, contiguous or near each other. And why do Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama put themselves and keep themselves in the scale of a balance opposite to Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota?

These three lake states all contain iron ore in quantity bordering on inexhaustibility, and which yields a large percentage of metallic iron. Consequently in the important matter of iron ore the three herein called gulf states, if they equal, certainly have no advantage over, the lake states, which latter, in addition to railroad transportation, have lake navigation to Cleveland, Ashtabula, Erie city and Buffalo, distributing lake ports, for their iron-ore trade, which is large in Pennsylvania, where fuels abound, and remunerative to ore owners.

And against cotton, corn and coal in the three gulf states named, the three lake states named can offset copper, wheat and salt, important staples in both cases, and not conflicting in market.

In trade affairs all the states named, twenty in number, affiliate and commingle. In politics one side evinces intolerance of opposition to its own way, notwithstanding all men of sense know that competition and rivalry between states or between cities and among individuals, in trade, is desirable and wholesome. Nothing is solid that has quicksand under it; nothing is disguised that is seen through, with eyes not closed nor too blind for penetration. The rebellion was plotted in treason to the Union, and ended in the destruction of the institution it was inaugurated to perpetuate and was made a cornerstone in a reactionary government which collapsed.

The Cleveland platform in 1888, in its "revenue reform" plank, which was free trade understood, was a conspiracy against the industries of the east and west states, and the thinking ballot expressed that conviction at the polls. True, Europe may be canvassed hereafter, as heretofore, for funds for a campaign in America, and for fees for peculiar service in special cases; but in the American Union the citizen voter is progressive, and campaign literature, carefully and thoughtfully prepared, is spread out in newspapers, pamphlets and circulars, and the seeds of information are thus sown broadcast over the land. Hence American citizens are not to be duped or cajoled, many at a time, on a subject so easily understood as the necessity of protection to American employers and employes in the American market, against foreign countries where mute animals on four feet receive tenderer care than chattel subjects on two legs.

BETWEEN PITTSBURGH AND DENVER, FROM ST. PAUL TO NEW ORLEANS.

The states of the Mississippi basin, between Pittsburgh and Denver, across twenty-four degrees of longitude, and between St. Paul and New Orleans, across fifteen degrees of latitude, in that distance intersecting a wheat belt, a corn belt, a tobacco belt, a cotton belt and a sugar belt, are collectively distinguished for the variety and abundance of their agricultural productions, and also for mineral resources, which include iron for machinery and coal for domestic fuel and steam-power—two elements of strength in manufactures, in transportation and in the household, already developed in many places, with capacity for increase in reserve.

These politically-interlocked and socially-intermarried states are ramified with rivers, comprising the Mississippi and its branches, the

latter themselves important streams, in a vast system of steamboat navigation; and with railways, trunk lines with feeders and tributaries running here, there and everywhere, spreading over the matchless inland basin an aspect of homogeneous fellowship favorable to reciprocity in intercourse and mutuality in intertrade.

Steamboats carry between Pittsburgh and St. Paul, river-head water-gates, and New Orleans the river-mouth gulf-port, and intermediate river-side cities and towns; and locomotives haul between Pittsburgh and Denver and everywhere else, between the two oceans and between Canada and Mexico.

In the Union, the Mississippi basin is the body-part or engine-room, between the collar bone and pelvis, and is as vital to the parts above the neck and below the navel as those motor and locomotive parts are to the whole physiological organization; for dismemberment of the Union, as is known to everybody from Maine to California, would be followed by destruction, whereas the totality of the Union is the source and cause of its strength and promise. The Union is not a crock of clay to be broken on the loss of one battle, whether fought with the bayonet or ballot, as England was lost at the battle of Hastings, where William the Conqueror defeated Harold, the last of the Saxon kings; next ascended the English throne, and granted estates confiscated from the Saxons to his Norman barons.

The disaster at Bull Run, in the beginning of the rebellion, surprised but did not discourage the loyal states of the Union. On the contrary, it roused the loyal states to appreciation of the conflict commenced, and to a determination to push hostilities to the "bitter end," a resolve confirmed in the collapse of the confederacy at Appomattox, four years afterwards.

The people of the loyal states, which remained the United States, were steadfast in purpose, made sacrifices without stint or hesitation, and not only was the Union preserved intact, but more states have since been added to it; and so again the Union is one happy family, wherein perhaps there may be occasional local jars, as "in the best-regulated families," but no more war, save for vindication against a trespassing foreign power, when every state will have its quota in the army of the United States, fighting under the national flag, which is the same to-day, with stars added for more states, that it was when the Continental Congress adopted it and Washington unfurled it in the field.

CUSTOM-HOUSES.

I. Custom-houses are filters and sieves of foreign imports, established to detect, prevent and punish smuggling, fraud and under-

valuation; and ought also to be filters and sieves of immigrants, to let the worthy through under safeguards, and stop aboard ship and turn back convicts, paupers, incurables, anarchists, nihilists and all others unworthy of admission and unfit for citizenship, at ports of entry and along the Dominion of Canada line; the latter a crooked treaty fence where it is a national nuisance, a Mason and Dixon line of discord and delusion, doomed to disappear like its prototype blotted from the map when slavery disappeared. One signified slavery south of it; the other signifies colonial subjection, a purgatorial condition, north of it.

II. Custom-houses are sluices in dykes, put there to shut automatically against incoming flood-tide and prevent overflow, and also to open to ebb-tide and let out leakage and give exit to outbound backwater. Sluices accommodate, both ways, tidal action due to a natural cause.

Per contra, excessive imports from Europe flood New York city, and turn the currents of trade against their natural course, till the land is inundated with foreign merchandise; whereupon the exportation of imports landed on speculation and not levied on nor subject to forced sale causes the accumulation to recede and the currents of trade to resume their natural course and normal watermark.

Afterwards, when a small stock in government storehouses and the hands of jobbers again stimulates imports of foreign merchandise, and another glut of the market ensues, there of course follows turn and counterturn of the current in business streams.

Spring and fall freshets are benefactions of nature that bless the hills where the rain falls and the valleys in whose laps additional depth of river makes navigation cheap and safe. But excessive imports, that flood and glut the market and disturb and derange business and cause stoppage of establishments and put employes on idle time, are the consequence of imperfect laws and faulty rulings, which amendment and discrimination would cure.

III. Custom-houses are toll-stations with collectors, appraisers and inspectors, to levy and exact government dues, to provide funds for Congress to appropriate for the army and navy, fortifications, arsenals, rivers and harbors, shipyards, vessels of war, armaments, commissary stores and the civil service; and same time make the laws they administer a defence and protection to home industry, from the depressing effects of alien underpay, in competitive opposition foreign countries.

IV. Custom-houses are not forts with garrisons and guns, to resist attack and make enemies, predisposed to aggression, hesitate before hostilities, but tribunals established to enforce acts of Congress and treaties in operation, embodied in a code comprising the tariff laws

passed and the precautions prescribed for the regulation of foreign trade, and for intercourse with foreign nations.

V. Custom-houses have gateways which open for the admission of imports and the departure of exports; but the tide runs in quicker than the tide runs out; and the foreign market, overfull of the products of European labor, is like a pool that overflows its dam and floods the valley below with storm-water; for Europe sends hither its accumulated merchandise, and so shifts its burden and turns it into cash, the duties payable, undervaluation considered, being incongruous and insufficient to counterbalance the difference in wages paid abroad and here; the transit of goods, too, in steamships this way, whither they come with passengers and ballast freights, for homeward cargoes of American staples, is so nearly nominal that merchandise for America crosses the ocean almost as free as water passes through canal locks when the chamber gates are open.

Hence it is the duty of officials, in every custom-house, to carry out the law and catch dutiable articles in the tariff seine, which is part of the legal network of the country, letting through its meshes none but articles enumerated in the free list.

The code American, inscribed in specific duties, is a protection covenant to citizen employes on pay rolls, at pay places, on pay day, and has a charm serene as the face of nature after a shower in July.

CONSULAR REPRESENTATIVES AND CONSULAR MISREPRESENTATIVES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

The Congressional Directory of the Fiftieth Congress, ended March 3, 1889, contains seventeen and a third pages of consular officers accredited to foreign countries, to represent the United States.

Some of these officials are intelligent men and faithful appointees; and in their reports to the State Department communicate information which is interesting, valuable and instructive. These true men discharge their duty and so fulfill their mission to serve the country whose commission they carry, in its policy and its laws.

But there are among the hundreds of consular officers some who betray the country it is their duty to defend, and insidiously serve the foreign manufacturer whose object is to undersell the American manufacturer in the American market.

Samples and secrets are carried out of the country and submitted to the employer of the foreign bread-winner, to advise him where to attempt to breach on American industrial work and so stimulate him in his competition with the employer of the American citizen wage-earner, to whom a protective tariff is as much a defensive armor as

was the coat of mail to the knight who, centuries ago, battled for the cross against the crescent.

Some of the consular officers were quoted in Congress by free traders who wore the campaign badge of "revenue reform" prior to the presidential election held November 6, 1888; and who, in the heat of debate and the anger of disappointment in defeat not foreseen, in Congress since that time blurted their real sentiments, as the Associated Press reports attest, in a way to cause the student of current affairs, who will not forget the circumstance, to recall the case of the many-faced fiend, Richard Piggott, who forged the name of Charles S. Parnell to the so-called Parnell letters published in the London *Times*, and used by that free trade tory organ in its "Parnellism on Crime" to help defeat Irish home rule in Parliament and confound William E. Gladstone, the oldest and ablest of living English statesmen, who has shown his love of country throughout a long public career; a conspicuous star in the galaxy of names which illuminate the history of England's ministry and Parliament. There are conspicuous stars in the skyarch over every land and conspicuous star names in the history of every civilized people, distinguishable through the dust and mist that darken the air and obscure the vision.

Gladstone foresees that home rule in Ireland in home affairs would concrete the kingdom in Parliament on national questions, as the state legislatures and the Washington Congress concrete the United States in a constitutional union, which has as many portals as there are seaports, as many communicating doors as there are interlocked and related commonwealths, as many altars as there are sects; and is the strength of its combined kindred population, blessed in their happy earthly lot in its favored land, their own union home, under the panoply of heaven in azure overhead.

Piggott perjured his soul before the Parnell Commission in London, February 20, 21, 1889; confessed a few days afterward; absconded with the connivance of those who should have prevented his escape; was pursued by parties determined on his capture; was arrested in Madrid, March 1, where he committed suicide and cut short his career, a sample villain for dealers in political forgeries to follow, in imitative way, to his nethermost abyss.

Piggott and his affiliated witnesses before the Parnell Commission, conspicuous among whom was a ready and even enthusiastic false swearer in the alias of Henri Le Caron—his real name Thomas B. Beach—were a set of godless knaves who sold their souls for a price, to cover with defeat and obloquy a political party leader, and overwhelm the party of progress in Parliament, the battle-ground of Irish home rule in Irish local affairs, as the Congress of the United

States is the battle-ground of American home rule in the American market.

The four ancient realms on the two Atlantic islands abreast of continental Europe, England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, are only large enough for one European nationality, founded on equal rights.

As a state New Jersey is sensitive and self-reliant, and as a part of the American Union New Jersey is national and patriotic; hence New Jersey is popular among the American people, because it has for the Union a love as strong as its own children cherish for their mother state.

England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales can be made a happy family, for in many things they have a common history, particularly in literature and modern army history, wherein Ireland is conspicuous.

It was made public in the testimony given before the Parnell Commission in London this present year, by witnesses who confessed to their own infamy, without hesitation or sign of shame, that they entered into service, government or newspaper, military or political, as the case might be, purposely to reconnoitre and listen, only to betray what they might see or hear, and also to counsel crime or mischief and meantime inform on the dupes of their advice, and so cause trouble or disaster; in brief, to do the villain generally and promiscuously for money. Therefore who knows how many of the irresponsible advocates of strikes and boycotts, and noisy agitators who harangue on the divinity of labor—which they take care to do with tongue and jaw-bone and not with tool and hand—may be in the pay of foreign conspirators interested in stopping work in American manufacturing establishments, so that foreign-made merchandise may find readier and larger sale in the American market? a part of the planet which western Europe covets and would pre-empt, if it could, its cost to be reimbursed out of American consumers by foreign syndicates and pools.

Money subscribed abroad has been used in American political campaigns and in the Washington lobby. In truth, secret service money is used by governments, one against the other, in the old world; nor is it so very long since the King of England was subsidized by the King of France; and to-day England subsidizes the Ameer of Afghanistan, to keep him to his bargain to "Be loyal to British Interests," the one commandment on which hang all the law of Parliament and the ministers of the crown. And who dare say that money is not used in labor lodges to foment strikes and harass trade? The Newgate Calendar has its heroes, such as they are; and if the annals of the strikes in and since the summer of 1877 were printed, the history of the frothy leaders boiled to the top would show the difference

between a mob hero and a home patriot of his country, and rouse the latent "sober second thought" of the honest wage-earner, who, when he thinks for himself, has intelligence to discern that a strike ordered without consideration of its effect on employe or employer, or both—for the employer cannot be hit without hurting the employe with the same weapon—is like a fire kindled by an incendiary who knows not, nor cares, how far it may spread, nor whom it may injure, nor what damage may ensue from his criminal act.

A strike without a justifying cause is arson under another name, and ought to receive the same punishment.

DUPLICITY IN TRADE, DIPLOMACY AND CONGRESS.

The American manufacturer, aware that duplicity prevails in trade as in diplomacy, knows that constant watchfulness of the proceedings of Congress, and, be it added, of the New York Custom-house and all custom-houses elsewhere, is the sole surety for protection to home interests, in the same sense and degree as a statesman long ago declared that "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

And if American citizens, as well those who are protected directly as those who are equally well protected indirectly by import duties, which are the only weights available to make the scale of American and European cost of articles, finished ready for sale, balance in the American market, would read the published summary of debates in Congress as intently as they peruse casualties by shipwreck, earthquake, volcanic eruption, boiler explosion, railway derailment and collision, and accident in mine and mill, in shop and on ship and everywhere else, in door and out door, under sensation head-lines, they would see in bills pending in Congress, when in session, and in newspapers of the free-trade ilk, misleading misstatements contributed by paid attorneys, correspondents and emissaries in New York city and the cotton portions of the South, in the lobby or on the floor of Congress, including labor agitators who are windy and salaried demagogues who are mercenary, matter poisonous to the American industrial system, matter deadly to the fruits of home compensation, which ripen in sunshine richer in saccharine than the foreign root crops that grow in the darkness of ignorance underground, and eke out life where it is weighted down with overload of care.

AMERICANS MUST NOT LOSE THEIR PARADISE.

The social fence erected by the edict of a crowned head, which divides persons in trade—and all persons in business not professional

are construed in trade—and a nobility who are the humming-birds at court, and who bear hereditary titles, posing on patents issued by the crown, will be levelled with the ground, not with bombs, torpedoes or squibs, but with the more dreaded if not deadlier ballot, which will whiff unearned titles into the air, and transpose subjects into citizens, and make merit in lieu of birth the basis for the distribution of official honors.

An aristocracy of titled functionaries is an abomination, sentenced in prospect to the oblivion which awaits shams, where discussion is free and impartial verdict succeeds patient trial in convention and canvass.

Review the suicide of the crown prince of Austria, the abdication of the king of Servia and the erratic performance of the king of Holland between lucid intervals, and how true it is that "the mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly fine"!

If the American citizen wage-earner lose his advantage to command higher pay than the enthralled subject whose dynastic masters reign and rule over fourteen fifteenths of the earth's population, whither can he go for betterment of condition?

There surely is no betterment in prospect anywhere away from home in America, and hence he should be watchful and determined not to part with advantages in possession at birthright or citizenship domicil; for ground lost on the wage question, which, in truth, is a geographical question by reason of the difference in political institutions, as well as a question of political economy, may not be regained, because there are myriads of mouths that must be fed, and as many backs that must be clothed, according to the necessities of nature; and also the law of self-preservation, which is higher and holier than the hollow words of the brazen promoters of boycott and strike, who act without consideration of consequences to unthinking victims.

The circumstances of the times, and the course of events in foreign countries, leave no option to the American citizen, if he expect to maintain his distinguishing personality, but a steadfast reliance on a tariff, graduated in the interest and for the purpose of protection to labor and capital in man and dollar.

Forty-two states—twenty-nine added to the original thirteen—worship at the national shrine in the Union temple, in which there are territorial seats reserved for states entitled to admission hereafter by consent of Congress, increasing the galaxy of stars, all of equal magnitude in the Senate, averaging more than a million and a quarter of population at present time. How many more states futurity may have in reserve no one can number, but all that enter come to stay.

By the census of 1790, the first census under the constitution, the

seventeen states included in the returns averaged only 231,130 of population.

It is not to be disguised nor overlooked that the time is arrived when increment instead of immigration must constitute the chief source of increase of population, except, of course, such as may come with territory acquired by annexation.

To the question of immigration, long a blessing, latterly an abuse —*as sins of the world are abuses of good things in the world*—the American wage-earner, whose worst enemy is the demagogue and agitator, must give his most serious meditation.

Go back to 1877, when strikers in Pittsburgh destroyed railroad property costing several million dollars, by incendiarism and riot; and thence come forward to date, computing along the way the loss in wages and the cost of idleness to men who locked themselves out of work with inconsiderate rashness.

Estimate the places vacated on order from persons unfit for citizenship, and so lost beyond regainment, and the mischief caused by irresponsible agitators, paid by secret lodges, to the business of the country, and especially to employes who, themselves, when labor lodges were not federated, harmonized occasional differences with their employers by compromise and mutual concession, without advice from brewers of discontent; who ought to be as unwelcome in labor halls and haunts in America as rats in granaries, hawks in henneries and snakes in trees robbing the nests of birds, three types of depredators that prey on property without hypocrisy, and therein are unlike, in that one particular; anarchists who greet liberty with a song, equality with a hurrah, and serve despotism for bounty pay, under oath to commit crime against life, property and the ballot. Hydrophobia is a danger identified with dogs; but there are dangers which crop out of agitators gifted with speech and who dread water and work, as fatal as the rabies, because they disturb peace and quiet and substitute idleness and starvation for happiness and content.

ALL COUNTRIES FOREIGN OUTSIDE OF THE UNION.

All countries outside the United States are foreign countries, to be treated as such in treaty and intertrade, because a next-door neighbor may be given to the worst vices of statecraft and need constant surveillance.

A boundary line is more like a safeguard in a printed description than on a line of latitude or longitude or along a water-course, where smugglers and law-breakers are on the lookout to cross over and transact illicit trade.

The thermometer is a sensitive instrument, expressive of the temperature of the atmosphere, and the mercury in its tube is driven down its graduated scale by the cold blasts of boreas, till the freezing point is passed and the trees whistle winter tunes.

And the wage scale, graduated by the tariff and the market, is a measure of industrial temperature, which free trade will chill down to the prices of European pay rolls, there to stay fast as fish frozen in ice.

And thus the new world, which rose up out of the ocean under touch of the magic wand of Columbus, not a decayed Scandinavian drift stick imbedded in an iceberg, instead of persevering in its mission work of persuading the old world, by its example, to approximate its institutions which are its beatific characteristics, will be assimilated to the old world in its worst features; and the American wage-earner will be forced, *nolens volens*, to accept reduced compensation for his time, his skill left out of the computation, or move away he knows not whither, only that the course is downward from the political and social summit-land of his birth or adoption.

Nor will it assuage his disappointment to reflect that, on the volition of his ignorance, he assisted, by his misuse of the ballot in the interest of his enemy, to build steps of retreat for himself to tread, down from the tariff elevation whereon he was protected, to the roofless concourse where competition is rampant, the crowd clamorous because hungry and half clad, and free trade pay is horizontal like the ocean tide datum level, from which heights are calculated by engineers.

Verily the day of miracles is past, as was foretold; but parable was planted a perennial lesson, in inspired words, delivered from divine lips for man to heed, for his salvation here, preliminary to his exit from the trodden stage, carpeted underfoot and curtained overhead by nature's architect and artist.

A nation is a community organized under one government, supreme in jurisdiction over the constituent parts of its totality, in matters delegated to it where it is a union of states, or usurped by it where it is a despotism with an absolute ruler, or a limited monarchy with a crown to figure-head a ministry and quasi legislative body.

The chief rulers of the nations of the world, with few exceptions outside of America, North and South, are the heads of dynasties founded on conquest, and perpetuated by unchallenged hereditary right to reign and govern.

The masses of mankind are governed without their consent and in defiance of their opinion; for those in authority, who wear the honors and divide the patronage, have standing armies, ostensibly for defence against invasion and aggression, but same time useful as a security

against insurrection and rebellion, precursors of revolution. The people are not trusted, but in theory are cared for paternally, as the word goes, compelled meantime to endure, as they best can, a subject condition, wherein the higher aspirations of manhood for the recovery of lost rights and for political betterment are forbid expression, under penalty imposed to keep the hand at its routine work and the tongue silent on affairs of state. The world's mantle, seen mentally in its diurnal revolution, is a sorry patchwork of silks and rags, inequality in apparel illustrative of inequality in political condition and opportunity for promotion.

But even where the few appropriate the substance of the many, paternal or personal government does not abandon subject population to promiscuous competition in international intertrade; and hence as money is a necessity to government, whatsoever its form, the custom-house is an important factor to the treasury, as is the case even in England, where free trade is a vaunted imposition, because England has a dutiable list of imposts on which tariff rates are payable to custom-houses; whereas, if free trade existed without qualification or limit, its custom-houses ere this could have been turned into school-houses or police stations.

Moreover, in imposing duties on imports, care is taken to discriminate in favor of home products exposed to foreign competition in home markets. And the result of this policy is twofold, in giving employment to home population and preventing the export of accumulated capital to pay foreign indebtedness unwisely incurred. A nation debits what it buys, and credits what it sells; and if there be not a balance to the credit of profit and loss, but a debit balance instead, the deficit is a loss in its foreign trade and a drain on its resources. To be sure, book-keeping is an art, and an expert accountant can manipulate assets to show a surplus where liabilities overshadow and insolvency impends.

The principal nations of the world are all protective in their tariff policy, except England, which we omit because England no longer poses as a first-class power in the diplomatic field, where emperors with large armies command the situation, and where, too, actions are fought without bloodshed, but not without loss or gain to the combatants, precisely as where rifles are used instead of pens. England would prefer to make its own "British interests" a higher law to other peoples, and be let alone at home and throughout its empire, and also in markets coveted by its subjects in trade.

But the western nations of Europe are on the alert, particularly Germany and France, who rove the world in search of customers for their manufactures. And as the American Union is a vast market,

of prodigious capacity for consumption, the western nations of Europe cast longing eyes towards it across the waters, and consider it, the same as England does, the land of the "main chance," and the New York Custom-house the main gate of undervaluation to it.

PER CAPITA CAPACITY FOR CONSUMPTION.

In tropical and semi-civilized countries the per capita expenditure for clothing is very small per twelvemonth, and, consequently, the merchandise trade is of little account, compared with the same number of inhabitants in the American Union, where there are no privileged orders nor castes, and where the citizens, free and equal in the law, enjoy more domestic comfort and live better and dress better and are better educated at public cost than the subjects of any crowned head, civilized, barbarian or savage. Contrast the trade of an Indian tribe on hunting-grounds, for garments and dry goods, with a frontier town containing the same number of heads, and meditate the difference in the quantity and cost of the dry goods consumed for garments and utilities of the household, in citizenship home life!

England was an ultra protective tariff country till it ceased to produce food of home cultivation sufficient to satisfy its increased and increasing population, by which time of turning tide, too, its manufacturing establishments had been enlarged to a capacity for surplus production for export to its colonies and to foreign countries. And then and thereupon England abandoned the policy of protection on which its manufactures had been built, and "turned about" to advocation of free trade in manufactured merchandise, of which it had a large home-made surplus to sell, taking care, however, to retain import duties on articles non-competitive but in common use, for revenue to swell treasury receipts.

But the phrase "it's English, you know," did not charm nor satisfy western Europe with the sophistry of free trade; and now the cunning proposition which was enacted into a law by Parliament to proselyte foreign nations to an English heresy torments its advocates, who are disappointed with the untoward aspect of international intertrade in Europe; for the continental countries that were England's prospective and expected customers are now its competitors and rivals, having made inroads into Great Britain and everywhere else that English goods go, seeking and finding, English fashion, customers and a market.

This is emphatically the case in the United States, whither foreign merchandise, the labor product of foreign countries, particularly Germany and France, is sent in immense quantities, to reduce the symp-

toms of plethora, where the market is subject to the same uneasiness that repletion causes in the stomach of a gormand.

And like the principal nations of western Europe, Russia, which in Europe occupies more than half its total area and in addition a very large part of Asia, is determined and steadfast in its policy of protection, and thereby is successfully developing its diversified resources on a scale capable of indefinite expansion, as a cloud overhead which at first casts only a spot of shadow on the ground, afterwards outspreads and covers the sky; making the empire more independent and discriminative in its imports and more self-reliant in its increasing exports of necessities to foreign populations.

The progress of Russia, too, in the growth of cotton east of the Caspian, is a cheering incident in the rise of that mighty power, which now counts cotton among its staple products; and which in a very few years will have in operation a railway eastward across Siberia to the Sea of Okhotsh, where it will have for neighbors China and Japan, that need not be jealous rivals, but may be fraternizing friends.

The United States and Russia are *vis-a-vis* on the north Pacific, where the Dominion of Canada is a trespasser, sojourning on a ticket of leave, since the treaty of 1846.

That free trade does not, abstractly, benefit agriculture, but on the contrary is its enemy in practice, the prostrated condition of agriculture and the depreciated price of farm land throughout the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland indisputably attest. English free trade opens the English markets to foreign food crops, which are grown at less cost and in quantity not approachable by food crop farmers in the British Isles.

England, as "The Doomsday Book" demonstrates, was a region of landed estates and pre-eminently an agricultural country under the Norman conqueror and his barons; an extraordinary company of uninvited guests, whose intrusion, however, turned out to be a "blessing in disguise," for the Norman graft grew a new variety of fruit on the Saxon tree. And after William the Conqueror, the next blessing, and which was without disguise, was Oliver Cromwell, the Briton of Britons, in the books.

The Normans in France were absorbed in the Celts and the French Normans in England were absorbed in the British Saxons, thus forming a new variety of cross-breed which made Britain *great*.

Kings like pins in a bowling-alley go down before balls. Napoleon treated kingdoms as prizes and crowned heads as puppets, in his dazzling career of battles, bounded by the Moscow turnabout and the Waterloo terminus. Napoleon did not always ignore, however he

may have tried to forget, the doctrines promulgated by the first French revolution subsequent to the achievement of independence by the United States at the final battle of Yorktown, 1781, in which the first overt act in Paris was the destruction of the Bastile, July 14, 1789. A prison torn down, for stones to build a temple for the people.

The French revolution of 1789 put public opinion in ferment in Europe, on personal prerogatives and common civil rights; and the yeast kneaded in the dough of the revolution of 1789 leavens the political loaf, the body politic, in 1889.

And in the hundred years of a few halts and more forward marches, how many changes have come about in the decline of adoration of royalty and all titles-patent of nobility and privilege, down to the baronet who by a ribbon is distinguished from the subject who knows as much as the crowned head of the kingdom, on matters of political economy and civil rights!

THE AMERICAN CITIZEN FARMER.

The American citizen farmer is too well informed on cereal crops and the world's markets to be cheated with the plea that free trade will benefit American agriculture, because he knows the capacity of the Black Sea basin and other regions for the production of food staples, and the facility with which cereals are carried long distances at small cost, especially in steamships, to supply markets where home crops are inadequate for home consumption.

England is a country of fair face freckled with cities and towns; and of London, Blucher, the Prussian general, whose opportune arrival at Waterloo saved Wellington and put Napoleon to flight, after he had feasted his eyes on London sights and London hospitality had satisfied his appetite, dryly said, "What a city for loot!"

The London of 1889, it need not be told, only that heads differ the same as eggs and oysters, is the equivalent in accumulation of a score of the London of 1815.

For London, the mistress city in present time in finance and commerce, as Rome was the mistress city in arms, laws and roads when Christ was on the earth, has sumps called vaults beneath its banks into which interest money drains from foreign lands, as it has sumps for mine water below the lowest level in its deepest mineral pits. But in England where there are landscapes embellished with old castles that rise above the trees, though they no longer frown defiance, there are also blasted heaths between its money sumps in trade centres, among its furnace stacks and mill chimneys, showing that where pov-

erty tends to segregation of minimum compensation, there riches gravitate to basins of deposited aggregation. Thus poverty sows out of its pockets, and wealth reaps and stores away for investment.

Observe how an outcry that grain is scarce and dear at Liverpool brings out of storage cargoes of grain from the Black Sea, the Danube and the Mediterranean, also India and other granaries, so proving that in the trade-bound world, without including North America in the computation, the cereal acreage under cultivation for food crops can supply the whole customer population, and outside of India, where famine is intermittent, carry over to next year a large surplus.

Look on and make cursory measure of the territory available for cultivation between the equator and the poles, not forgetting long and broad and bountiful Siberia, which the railway to the north Pacific Ocean will people with immigrants and make a prosperous and powerful portion of the Russian empire.

The penal part of Siberia will be forgotten like the penal part of Australia and other penal settlements, to some of which so-called first families in flunkeydom, where there are more skeletons than closets, sometimes trace back a pedigree to a source of blue blood, in indigo marks picked in the skin.

Convicts can come to the front, reformed men, in penal settlements, and grow in reputation with the country; whereas elsewhere convicts are put under surveillance or hunted down like wild beasts, after they have served out a sentence, by detectives less merciful than bloodhounds. Why expunge P. P., penal pioneer, and substitute F. F., first family?

Consider the efficiency of agricultural machinery and implements, along with the superabundance of labor in foreign countries, and be convinced that out of the plentifulness of harvest time will come food for the subsistence of mankind.

More and more of the immense acreage untilled will be put under cultivation, as population when nations are at peace is sure to increase, and the market will cry "for more" to satisfy its hunger; meanwhile new railways to facilitate and cheapen transportation will penetrate into regions at present remote and insulated from overland thoroughfares and outlets at seaports.

Not until railways had been extended into the interior of India was India wheat sent to the seacoast and shipped thence to England. And the concocters of wheat "corners" in Chicago, eight years ago, were the principal promoters of the India wheat trade in its early days of experimental venture; for they caused advance of price to so high a point at Liverpool that India wheat was imported into England and sold at profit, thus illustrating the wisdom of that profound philos-

opher, Sam Patch, when he told the world that "some things can be done as well as others."

Sir Giles Overreach was the prototype of the originating rascal of the Chicago wheat and Wall Street stock "corner."

In North America the interests of agriculture are identified with the growth and industrial health of the home population, rural and urban, which two divisions are one community, nationally interwoven and interlocked; and if there be no accumulation of profits on total transactions, additional capital cannot accrue for investment. Of course when the home market is under home rule, and the balance of trade is against Europe, then the surplus to the credit of home trade makes the country prosperous and the people happy. Thus increment or interest on savings and profits on transactions are a double source of accumulation of dollars, as wedlock is an understood source of increase of births or increment on population, a home increase which is supplemented by immigration.

What foreign nations need, beyond what they can produce within their own territories, they will in part buy here, provided quality and price assure the buyer as good a bargain as the same money would command elsewhere. This is no secret, no mystery; it is what is called "worldly wisdom," a commodity not common nor rare, used as capital in trade; for trade is not a creature with a responsible conscience, but on the contrary an intermediate agent not akin to the conscionable impulses and affections of human nature.

Business is pursued for its possible compensation—nothing else, since it is limited to mammon—in dollars and cents.

Mankind cannot be idle, for a human being moving with the tide has but few "lazy bones" in his anatomy, nor is human life an aimless existence in the estimation of manhood.

And there are varieties of tastes and also of necessities which divide society into the professions and trades and the other callings in the long catalogue, whereby to serve out a probationary service for food and raiment on the earth, whence we depart to go back to dust underground, and to judgment whither faith points the way.

In this wise arrangement of Providence civil society is the counterpart of nature, which divides vegetation into unnumbered varieties for the sustentation of its creatures, beginning with man, and after a circuit of the habitations of the species in the descending scale, ending inquiry with a microscope to aid our imperfect vision.

In the occupations of life, where population must have employment for livelihood, there are pursuits exposed to under pay and idle time, in consequence of foreign competition due to causes to cure which the remedy is in Congress.

And in these avocations, all respectable and useful, employer and employe mutually need protection; otherwise the difference in the cost of home and foreign production will tell in favor of the manufacturer who pays least for his labor; and as the compensation paid American citizens is twice the compensation paid subjects abroad, an import duty is a necessity precedent, to continue the citizen in employment and keep in the country the money which otherwise would go abroad to pay for foreign labor sent here in manufactured merchandise, to be converted into money for foreign account.

The staple products of a country like the United States, where machinery and skilled labor abound, must—yes, that is the verdict of the country—must be manipulated at home, where raised or mined, into articles for use, and not be sent abroad as material in crude condition, for manufacture into commodities of commerce, coarse, fine, superfine and costly, and then received back as merchandise imported for consumption, greatly enhanced in price, to reimburse the cost of labor employed far away, to prepare the material for final use at its original source.

This irrational process is evolution with a backstep, whereas the pace of evolution is, from interest and reason both, a forward march—a tread ahead from the last halt, at the inspiring bugle-call of progress.

Where skilled labor is employed, there most of the money realized from its production, wherever sold, goes for distribution. And this fact the employe knows as well as any one, and ought to heed in his own case as a party in interest; for surely every one has to provide a livelihood for himself, and also for his family if he have any.

Wherefore, for an employe to sink his individuality in a proxy agitator is evidence of unfitness for citizenship in "a government of the people for the people," like the United States, which is a republic "founded upon a rock."

LABOR MISREPRESENTATIVES IN LEGISLATURES.

Review the votes cast by labor members of legislatures in the election of United States senators, in contests where the dividing party issue was a tariff for protection versus free trade disguised as "revenue reform," and witness wherein and how the trust they were elected to champion for their constituencies, and where they had domicil and ate bread and butter, was deserted in the decisive moment, and in a way that intentionally gave victory to the known enemies of American industry.

And witness, too, how in the last presidential canvass salaried officials of secret labor-associations dodged the question of protection

on its trial by ballot, and sat on the fence among the buzzards, watching the canvass and waiting for the end, to scavenger the battle-ground for gleanings of the spoils, left behind by the first raiders, after the close of the polls.

Knights of Labor, forsooth! as if knights of old were not knights of chivalry, a high-caste and arrogant class, and did not wield battle-axes to cleave heads through the helmets of the enemy, albeit they returned from the crusades leaving the Saracens in possession of the Holy Land, where they are in possession to this day, not only tolerated but protected in possession of Bethlehem where Christ was born, and of Jerusalem where Christ was crucified, by the western nations of Europe. And why? Solely from jealousy of Russia and to postpone the restoration of the Greek cross, which the Turks supplanted with the crescent in 1453, when the capture of Constantinople by the Turk made him a fixed trespasser and a despoiler in Europe, and where he lingers on sufferance prolonged by the Berlin Congress of 1878, when Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain and Italy conspired with Turkey against Russia, and modified the treaty of San Stefano dated February 19, 1878, entered into by Russia and Turkey after Russia had fought its way across the Balkans through the rigors of winter, and commanded the military situation at the gates of Constantinople.

This victory of the Russian over the Turk, however, was what the nations of western Europe had not anticipated, did not want, and therefore plotted against; for the Russian check at Plevna, on its first assault of that place, had raised "great expectations," especially in England which blustered and conspired but did not openly participate in hostilities.

But the "sick man" had signed the treaty of San Stefano, and thereupon the Berlin Congress was concocted. Austria was allotted two provinces of Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Cyprus became an English island. Turkey was carved with diplomatic knife and fork in the Berlin Congress house of its friends.

Thus six powers, five of them Christian, combined against the champion Christian power whose mission in Europe is the removal of the crescent and the restoration of the Greek cross on the historical Church of St. Sophia. And the motive for this alliance with the Turk in Europe, where he represents Mahomet as against Christ, was to depreciate the victories of a war entered on to redress the grievances of the Christian inhabitants oppressed and maltreated in European Turkey, which had shocked and horrified Christendom with authenticated particulars, and which the diplomatic representatives of five Christian powers of western Europe ignominiously condoned in

the Berlin Congress, on the hypothesis that diplomacy in western Europe is simply lying according to law! And if any jealous or suspicious European power can squeeze or otherwise extract any solace or comfort out of a comparison of Russia in 1812, when Napoleon retreated from Moscow with the fragments of an army which he had organized in large part out of the remnants of the forces he had defeated in pitched battles in Europe, with Russia in 1889 in area, population, manufactures, crops and mineral resources, it is because its goggles make it the dupe of optical delusion.

After the Turk shall have departed from Europe, and Russia shall have rectified its boundaries on the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, a logical sequence will put the holy places in the Holy Land in the custody of Christendom, with the benediction of the United States and Russia as the two principal nations in the dominion of Christ on the earth.

THE TRUE ECONOMIST THE POOR MAN'S WIFE.

The true and unselfish political economist, in its broadest, longest and deepest sense, is the housewife and mother of children who, out of a few dollars a week derived from a husband devoted to his family and faithful to his duty, pays rent, provisions the household and sends her children to school, week days and Sunday, always clad in clean clothes.

Many a time have I been impressed on a Sunday afternoon about sundown in summer time, in Kensington, in a neighborhood of modest dwelling-houses in that compact district, which I have seen change from fields, orchards, woods and meadows into paved streets between rows of houses, big establishments and tall chimney-stacks, by the appearance of little girls and boys, bright and beaming, abroad in the streets in becoming apparel and with the blessed hue of health upon their cheeks; a scene to look on and reflect on, and same time move the spectator to heartier appreciation of the compensations there are in society and the visible good there is in human nature.

Blessed is the word mother, and thrice blessed is the family that is content with its condition in life, with no skeleton in its closet, and with open roads from its door to the opportunities for preferment as they exist in this country and nowhere else.

And when it is considered how judiciously and honestly building societies and beneficial associations and other mutual organizations are managed in a quiet way, the wonder is that intelligent employes trust so often and so blindly to alien or unlettered agitators and promoters of strikes, to do by proxy what the proxy-giver could better

do himself in his own modest way. True he might therein differ from the windy fellow who in blissful unconsciousness advertises his ignorance in a gush of words which are as free in the dictionary as the wind that hurries a cloud overhead, or the water which makes a noise where there is a dam across a stream.

The demagogue is normally boisterous, usually from want of knowledge on the subject in controversy, and consequently is weak in argument because destitute of facts, which are the premises of logical conclusions.

PINS, APOTHECARIES, POLITICAL TRADERS.

What becomes of the pins sold, of the apothecaries graduated in pharmacy and of the doctors graduated in the medical schools? are questions for conjecture to make targets of, and wit to shoot at; and why is it that answer is made with a shake of the head when it is asked, What becomes of the lawyers annually admitted to practice in the courts? where a good counsel to a client is the peer of a good physician to a patient sick abed—beyond the number needed to engineer the legal machinery in motion in the service of justice, which is symbolically blind, but truly in the trade of the law an argus with eyes which look different ways independent of each other, and can construe a statue as many ways as there are judges on the bench, to instruct the jury. What a marvel is the law, and what wonders are some of its judges! Nevertheless, it is the best net we have to fish with, for there are sharks and sword-fish in the waters, and these monsters cannot be permitted to devour all the food fish!

We may reverence the law, but we need not overdo our admiration of its judges, very few of whom were conspicuous at the bar, and many of whom had few clients and intrigued for the position for its pay. Oliver Twist "asked for more," but little Oliver had an empty stomach when he asked for "more" *molasses*, not for more salary as did the judges of the law!

That politics, politely called the art of government, is a trade, we need only, to find assurance of the fact, refer to the Congressional Directory and the Legislative Manual to ascertain that attorneys at law are plentifully sprinkled in elective bodies that enact the statutes. And it is one of the privileges of the legal profession to talk, and one of the characteristics of a pleader to affect logic in his speech; and in the plenitude of his vanity expect his hearers to concede his nickel-plate premises and accept his gilt-letter conclusions as proof that he understands his subject.

That he is a doctrinaire, or possibly a crank, and that his allegations are counterfeit presentments and his spurious facts only broken

links of brittle metal that will not hold together in a chain of argument, does not ripple his satisfaction with himself behind his petrified cheek, nor cause a suspicion in the narrow cell of his mind that, instead of a steam steed on a track hauling a long train, he is only a "fish out of water," floundering for its native element wherein its fins and tail are its natural motive powers.

A SPEECHMAKER AND PARTY SERVANT.

There is in Pennsylvania to-day a public character whose capital in trade is the fact that he is a speechmaker and party servant who has held many conspicuous offices, nobody knows for what reason, at Harrisburg, Washington and as minister in South America, not omitting membership of a convention that altered the state constitution into a hermaphrodite, imperfect in both genders; one who always was, and now is in years too old to change, a cold-blooded personality that never responded in his nature to democracy broader nor deeper than his political party, so popular in *free trade England* and Texas.

Long ago he tried to limit by constitutional amendment the number of representatives that a city might elect to the popular branch of the Legislature, a stab meant to kill the doctrine of representation according to population. What is the country without the town? Bah!

In the earlier years of railroads, and when the question of *gauge*, a matter particularly important to Pennsylvania, was in controversy with Lake Shore and New York interests, he lent himself, as his henchman, the departed Wesley Roat, would attest if he could come back and qualify, to the repeal of a wise and opportune law which forbade the construction of any more wide-gauge roads in the state; and was the spokesman for railroad parties in other states, whereas, afterwards, all roads of wide gauge in Pennsylvania were changed to the standard gauge of the Pennsylvania, New York Central and Baltimore and Ohio trunk lines, at enormous cost. And, finally, overlooking his double-dealing on tax on tonnage on railroads parallel with state canals, and on the subject of charters for railroads, Charles R. Buckalew made a speech, common of commonplace, and cast his vote *against Pennsylvania* for the Mills bill in the interest of free trade in the guise of "revenue reform," in the Congress which expired with President Grover Cleveland's maladministration of the government of which George Washington was first President, elected without the vote of New York state, a hundred years ago.

Verily the army of the ballot is officered with blind mutes in Columbia county, where Buckalew is a sage, as was Buchanan a sage in Lancaster, before he failed in his high trust in 1861.

UNIVERSITY SCHOOLMASTERS.

University and college professors who, after all, are schoolmasters, nothing more, nothing less, in the same way that stock members of a theatrical company are actors the same as stars of the profession, assume too much when they assume that an abstraction as they state it will become a concretion when the word of the pedagogue is made the ruling of a statute, the law of the land, in precedence and preference to practical experience and thorough understanding of the industries and the arts which leaven society and bind communities together, intent and busy in the pursuit of happiness.

Political economy, the art of government, is a theme of many phases, a subject controverted in cabinet and council, where statesmanship and statecraft meet for consultation; and where facts are counted and reasons weighed before judgment is pronounced. *Practicality is the touchstone in statesmanship*, and theory is the miasma which rises out of the morass and is a source of obscuration till the heat of the sun scatters it where it can do no harm nor dim the vision of the wayfarer.

Doctrinaires and cranks who assume that they understand aerial navigation and perpetual motion, and wonder why inventors do not overcome the law of gravitation, and meanwhile browse on pessimistic stubble and lament that words discharged with a trigger-tongue from the muzzle of a mouth do not bring down game like a bullet from a gun barrel, descant on political economy as if it were a subject comprehensible off-hand or by intuition; and stultified professors hold fast to university and college salary teats, even though all of them are not scholars to qualify them for judges of practical politics, and but few of them are students in the broad and deep sense of that word, which fits the thoughtful man advanced in years as it does the boy in his teens.

The process of acquisition of knowledge is continued till mind-sight begins to dim and crevices in the memory begin to open, showing that brain power has passed its maximum, where imperfection foreruns decay. This is the decree of nature, the inevitable law, which is typified by Time as a skeleton with a scythe.

The oldest judges of the Supreme Court, the oldest senators and members of Congress and the oldest citizens are students so long as mind maintains the mastery and reason commands the man.

Universities, colleges, high schools, academies, grammar schools, indeed all schools, are armories for drill of the intellectual faculties in youth, as apprenticeship drills artisans in the use of tools, according to a manual which qualifies a pupil who is apt in its tactics and

steadfast in his purpose, to march steadily on, leaving loiterers and truants in the rear.

The scholar of philosophic turn never tires of the times, but looks down below the surface of the ground and into the springs which flush the brooks for causes, and takes interest in current events, whatsoever they may be, wheresoever they may occur.

These lookers on, these readers, spectators and thinkers, who "make haste slowly" and can use the "mind's eye" for a locomotive head-light, may be sometimes seen at the foot of a hill gazing up a road at wayfarers, who hurry to the summit, there to disappear behind the horizon, because they climbed too fast and stopped where they had no foothold.

There are, besides, some who, though not on the school lists after early boyhood, continue to study at night-time and visit libraries, attend lectures and read books, magazines and newspapers with such method and profit that they accumulate information and fund it, invoiced and classified, thereby equalling, if not surpassing, superficial incumbents of professorships and schoolmasterships who can commit to memory by rote the text of the lessons they teach, like actors on the stage always up in their lines, but who nevertheless are short of appreciation of the words delivered from their lips.

THE AMERICAN SITUATION.

To comprehend protection as a practical, pending political question, and its bearing on the American situation, let the citizen consider the nation of the United States a political family of forty-two state members and a half score of territorial candidates for membership, with a large estate occupied and cultivated by joint heirs to a common inheritance, under the deed of union, the Constitution, which declares its purposes and describes its powers, to the end that all citizens may be shareholders in the body politic, under its perpetual charter, to conduct the affairs of the general government in the interest of the states and the whole people, numbering sixty-five millions of souls.

This great political family, the second in size among the Christian powers, which combine the push and progress extant and hold the world in the arms of outstretched Christian civilization, has many interests to foster and look after; for in trade, where it is conducted on a gigantic scale, as in the United States, for the individual benefit of the living generation and the common benefit of its posterity, there are many who are exposed to extra risk which does not menace others, and who need and deserve protection against aggressive com-

petition from foreign countries, where subjects are paid starvation wages and are assessed as chattels and used as tools.

The theory of banking is that credit is necessary to worthy persons in business, to float them through fluctuations in prices and temporary depression in the market; and hence capital is associated and money loaned, with lasting good results. And, indeed, so fraught with evil to a community is a panic in a market that pecuniary assistance is proffered and pecuniary sacrifice promptly incurred to avert it, and thus restore confidence among depositors and dealers.

And it may not be amiss to assert, as an abstraction, that a thing is worth what it will sell for in market; but price is not always a measure of value beyond the moment of sale, for inflation and depression sometimes follow each other in quick succession, where a sudden collapse destroys confidence and sinks quotations, as explosion of a boiler scatters in pieces the iron it was made of.

Of course failures will occur whatever be the common usage or the statute law, for in mundane matters *very much depends on judgment and management.* Where these qualities are lacking, success is not so easily won as where they are manifest in the daily walks of those who watch the tides in commercial currents and the weather-vanes on house tops and high poles.

The principal millionaires in the United States did not derive their fortunes from profit on manufactures.

Stephen Girard was a shipping merchant who sent his vessels to foreign ports and traded cargoes with consummate foresight and judgment. He likewise was a public-spirited citizen, always in the foreground in the community in response to duty. His means he invested wisely and where they have grown and will continue to thrive. The Girard College, a charity created by his will, and now and forever his monument, is the grandest and most successful public charity founded by man. Thousands of men, grown-up orphan boys educated within its walls, bless the name of Stephen Girard.

Neither Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, Thomas A. Scott nor John W. Garrett was a manufacturer, but all four were railway promoters with promises to pay and expert reconstructionists and practitioners in Wall Street finance.

RAILWAY WRECKERS.

When a ship is wrecked at sea it goes to the bottom and is lost. When Jay Gould and others of his ilk—smart in their way but with "cussedness" in their treason—wreck a railway corporation, they do not destroy its trackway and appurtenances nor cripple it as a transportation machine. On the contrary, they simply put in ply their

knowledge of the art of corporation book-keeping and proceed with the aid of accountants and attorneys to foreclose on its default to meet liabilities, moult its debts, as a parrot moults its feathers, to make way for new ones of the same kind, go before court for rehabilitation, make a new departure, lie to the public in exaggerated exhibits about increase of earning capacity, manipulate a rise in the stock exchange, and when all is ready unload on outside buyers who theretofore did not believe in "total moral depravity."

Different, indeed, is this formula from the manufacture of merchandise, whereby employment is provided at home and wealth withheld from export out of the country.

The homage paid by vice to virtue in the last act of the drama of life, when the soliloquy is, "to be or not to be," illustrates the aspiration of mortal man to conciliate public opinion in his "latter days," as if to propitiate judgment on his record and mitigate a possible verdict in that eternity undiscovered from this planet, but whither every one is bound.

INVESTED HOME CAPITAL AND COMPETITION.

Capital invested in works for iron and steel manufactures, and for cotton, wool and silk manufactures, and indeed in all manufactures of fibrous and metallic material, is exposed to risk of deficit in income to defray expenses, and also to reduction of interest or dividend by reason of fluctuations in prices, the proximity of the continents in steamship time, the low rates for transportation charged on merchandise and the whole catalogue of causes which employes can ascertain, if they do not already know; for the telegraph, the submarine cable and the telephone, not forgetting the mail, are tell-tales of the secrets in trade. There is nowadays no terra incognita to commerce, not even in Africa, which is being portioned out in parcels among the powers, like rations distributed to troops, the aborigines not consulted nor considered in the allotment of their land, except in ceremonial mock way. But civilization is a blanket-word, and where it cannot cover evangelization can excuse a transaction, for the missionary is abroad, and if he cannot proselyte in the interest of creed, he can explore in the interest of trade.

Fifty years ago, when the sailing packet was the medium of intercommunication, averaging thirty days to cross the Atlantic Ocean, and the mail-bag aboard ship carried all the information transmitted, and when, besides, there were long intervals of non-communication between home and foreign shores, then secrets in trade were of money value to the owners, because there was time between arrivals to plan operations, conduct negotiations, and make purchases and sales.

And if it be asked if, notwithstanding the risk, there is not about the same percentage of manufacturers as of jobbers successful in business, it may be answered yes, for protection is a guarantee of possession of the home market, meantime that competition within it reduces prices to the consumer. Protection in the American Union, where there is capital seeking investment, means inside competition with custom-house locks on outside doors.

This last phrase states the case of the American citizen against the foreign subject. The former ought not, will not be cut down to the European subject level; the latter should not, will not be permitted to forage or foray in the United States, when the whole world elsewhere is open to him under laws in force.

The subject shall not gather the sheaves where the citizen ploughed the ground and planted the seed. Let the foreigner pull up by the roots the weeds on his own trespassed acres, better the condition of himself and fellow subjects with the wit and strength nature gave him for his own behoof, or follow fortune if it beckon to a new field where there is work awaiting immigration, to make it welcome and pay it well.

The fraud on the part of the free trader is in representing manufacturers as "protected barons" fattened in fortune on premium tariff duty, added to the invoice price of foreign merchandise, whereas in truth, as the falsifier is aware, discriminating duty is imposed so that the higher wages hitherto and at present paid in America may be continued henceforth. Thus the citizen employe is assured of employment and money is retained in the country, a twofold consequence of double benefit to home interests, as every one can appreciate.

That individual manufacturers, and firms and corporations organized for manufacturing purposes, have realized profit on product of machinery and capital, and clear heads and deft hands employed, is a truth that entitles the parties to public approbation instead of censure, from misrepresentatives in Congress who trade in politics and use catchwords coined for the stump in a canvass for votes; for skill and industry add substance to a country and exalt it in the scale of nations.

A country that is large must have bulwarks to make it strong, consisting of industrial establishments to make it independent as well as fortifications to maintain its independence and play its part among the powers.

Employes cannot expect per capita pay in excess of the value of their services to their employers, since a pay roll that represents a per capita loss must soon exhaust capital and cause suspension of operations.

And where a pay roll represents a per capita profit, even though it be a minimum, and the employes are numbered by scores and hundreds, a common occurrence, the profits of course aggregate a considerable sum, the logical sequence of a large business. But these savings are invested in new enterprises and in enlargements of successful works, whereby employment is given to additional numbers and the community benefited thereby.

The industrial interests of a country are sympathetic; and wherever and whenever a calamity shocks the public—and disasters befall every year—the heads of the industries respond through their pockets to the appeals of humanity for succor and assistance. In sooth, observation of routine life and experience among the perils which beset human beings, soften the business man into a good samaritan when the bell of appeal sounds the alarm and summons help.

SATAN IN JUDEA, THE EUROPEAN IN AFRICA.

The summary of foreign news in the morning and evening newspapers is to date an epitome of the latest events throughout the world, as it is mapped and portioned in all its circumference, among contented and discontented possessors of big and little patches, mostly defined by treaty, a process of binding over ostensibly to keep the peace; as where a tract of land is left a legacy to heirs who show their gratitude to their donor kinsman by contesting his will, to change his allotment of a gift.

St. Matthew tells how Satan took the Saviour "up into an exceeding high mountain and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me. Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan."

What title Satan had to "the kingdoms of the world," with sight of which he tried to tempt the Son of God, we are not told. But we can infer that "the glory of them" meant the pomp of the royal courts and crowned heads in his service, under contract signed and assignable. The title to a throne, therefore, it may be, comes down from the devil, as title to land in the colonies comes down from grants made by crowned heads in Europe who had no patent to lands in America where the aborigines were occupiers and owners.

On the discovery of the continent of America by Columbus, a spirit of adventure set Europe ablaze, and expeditions organized for discovery were fitted out by rival dynasties, commanded by navigators alive to the situation and ambitious of distinction, to scour coasts and explore rivers; and in the name of the sovereign or country they were

serving, seize and occupy territory, totally ignoring the aborigines where they were unopposed, and where the natives resisted the marauders, they were sometimes treated with a barbarity that made the word "civilization" a misnomer and "colonization" a synonym of dire portent.

Spain, Portugal, France, England, Holland, Sweden, made settlements and founded colonies between which wars ensued and dispossession and conquest followed priority of occupation. The colonizers first dispossessed the aborigines, and then in sheer covetousness quarrelled for supremacy in behalf of royal masters and fatherlands in Europe.

And the policy pursued by western Europe on the discovery of America has since been repeated elsewhere, notably by England, and is in progress now in Africa where the invaders are already in disputation, and threats are muttered against Portugal by the greediest of the west European powers; and where, of course, the richest regions being the most coveted, the black natives are doomed to extermination; for the outcry against the slave trade where it survives—a trade which England herself planted in her American colonies—is only an excuse for occupation for conquest, and is as hypocritical and insincere as the plea that the Mills bill in the last Congress was in the interest of "revenue reform" when its forecasted effect was a forward movement towards free trade, as if purposely intended to stay progress in localities where visible prosperity is the reward of perseverance in industry and skill, combined with willingness to work.

In communities where affectation is most boastful that industrial labor, which differs from idleness as soberness differs from drunkenness, is not sufficiently respectable to commend it where cotton grows out of the ground, there free trade produces its rankest weeds; but the fashion line drawn at cotton has disappeared, like the geographical line drawn by Mason and Dixon, long a dividing line between the North and the South, to the distraction of political parties and confusion in the national councils. Blessed day when slavery passed away!

On the Delaware bay and river the Dutch and Swedes were the pioneer settlers; next after the Dutch rulers came the English, before Penn appeared, with a plan of a colony extending westward from the Delaware river, with a seaport city and frame of government, its provisions in advance of its date. Penn, who had elaborated in his mind the grand idea of *a commonwealth founded on toleration*, obtained his charter from Charles II. for a grant of land to which the English crown had no title, but which notwithstanding constituted a sufficient conveyance to discharge a debt due Admiral Penn, because it con-

formed to the common kingly usage of that day to grant lands in distant America, in large overlapping tracts. This loose royal practice naturally engendered controversy about boundary lines. But Penn, whose fame is in his statesmanship, though he derived his proprietary title from the English crown, made treaties with the aborigines for peaceful possession of his acquisition.

The present dynasty of Great Britain and Ireland is founded on a revolution headed by William of Orange, a German prince, who with his own troops combined with British troops put the king to flight and took his seat on the throne, with the consent of Parliament; nor was the "divine right" to wear a crown and wield a sceptre pleaded in opposition to the imported soldier made sovereign of the kingdom and founder of a new dynasty, which is still in power, and which may continue in hereditary office till the British people, already graduated to a safe standard for a change, substitute the elect of the ballot for a crowned head and a Senate for the House of Lords.

The tactics of the founders of empires on the Mediterranean and in the East, and for which Satan attempted to substitute bribery in Judea, and which William of Normandy put in practice on the strength of his victory at Hastings by his seizure of the English crown and the transfer of confiscated Saxon estates to his Norman followers made barons, became the practice in the New World, as it had been the common usage in the old since primitive man began his migrations.

THE WAYS OF THE WORLD.
THE BATTLE OF LIFE.

It is said that in the dark ages, and before the reformation, the most of the books preserved were stored in the monasteries, for learning was at discount and ignorance of letters a knightly boast; but that was long ago, and cannot again occur, for public opinion insists on education as a means of enlightenment, particularly in Christian lands; and hence with access to libraries and to books, magazines and newspapers, the history of the past is open to every one athirst for its truths and lessons; and shams, impostures and superstitions are disappearing, so that in these practical days, in the light of the Christian religion and political progress inculcated by it, the individual man must acquaint himself with the questions discussed and to be settled by agreement, compromise or otherwise, and so equip himself for intelligent co-operation, particularly with the friends of protection, thereby to perpetuate home rule in the American market.

There are omens in the sky when there is craft in the canvass; the

horizon is not clear till the fringe of cloud above it disappears behind it. The so-called "trusts," for which *mistrusts* would be a fitter name, of which the sugar trust organized in New York city is number one, and of which England seems the centre of operations, are combinations fraught with mischief. And the plea urged in justification that consolidation is economy, as in the case of the three Chicago steel companies merged in one, is a fallacy which will not long extenuate a speculation. But if "trusts" become the fashion, fortunately fashion is short-lived, then employer and employe should coalesce to keep individuals, firms and corporations out of a mania to boom prices in adulterations launched in paper-plated craft into currents with rapids which are most dangerous when the volume of water is largest, down which the hulk, after a few circles in the eddies of the stock market, is caught in a vortex and disappears in a maelstrom.

Smuggling and undervaluation in invoice prices are the equivalents of blockade-running in the rebellion of 1861–65—tempting prospects of extra profit. And as the American market is a bank with large surplus deposits for distribution, in European eyes, the American employer and employe are equally menaced and combated by foreign competition, which has as many insinuating ways as the queen of sirens, as many tongues as there are idioms in speech, and which, like the chameleon whose color changes with its position to the light, can change its color in market as many times as there are prices at auction sales and tints in paints and dyes.

The American market must be guarded against inroad by underselling foreign subject competition, by citizen voters in the wage-earning service, as the national flag is guarded against insult by the army and navy, on land and sea.

The Samoa South Pacific event this present year, which disclosed the purpose of Germany to annex by craft and force the island of Samoa, in disregard of the treaty rights of the United States—a freebooting grab frustrated by the timely action of Congress and the gallant conduct of the naval officers in command of United States vessels "in the right place at the right time"—before the hurricane—shows the absolute necessity of a first-class navy to a first-class power like the United States; so that vessels of war, equal to any in service among the navies of European nations, may patrol far-away waters, ready to act in emergency and respond to orders received.

Precious metals and precious stones and other things of great value are put in safety deposit vaults, always under watch, to insure against surprise and robbery; for where there are treasures within, beware of thieves outside.

And herein is a hint to the *citizen employe*, whose jewel is his

health, and whose negotiable assets are educated mind, acquired skill and bodily strength, to watch the custom-house, the boundary line and Congress, the three ways to his home market, through one or the other of which his enemy, always on the lookout, hopes to outmanœuvre his guard and capture his customers.

Warfare is waged where no deadly weapons are used as well as where the object of combatants is destruction of property and life, to enhance cost of hostilities, shorten a campaign, and hasten the return of peace.

The poor man knows what the words "battle of life" express; and hence, as warfare in manufactures between America and Europe is *war between American citizens and European subjects for the American market*, the poor man must use the ballot for his bayonet, or suffer loss of employment or be content with reduced compensation.

For ignorance of current affairs in politics and trade there is no valid excuse, since the newspaper is scattered everywhere, and the telegram travels the wire faster than the earth moves on its axis. Nor is neutrality less offensive than ignorance, under free government, for citizenship imposes responsibility to perform duty on everybody except inmates of asylums for the insane and persons incarcerated for crime. Hence the neutral, when protection is on trial, has his counterpart in the ignoramus, and *vice versa*.

The American market is a commercial mine and mint on which western Europe casts longing eyes, and out of which alien importers and their proxies are solicitous to draw payment for foreign competitive merchandise, thereby to stimulate European production for American consumption, thus to deprive American citizens of employment and diminish the product of American works, and so deal a double blow to the American citizen employer and employe.

COMMERCIAL TREATIES WITH FOREIGN NATIONS.

In the discussions of the day in editorial columns of the newspapers, the reader, it would seem, is expected to take much for granted in an editor's say so, when the editor is a unit, however many subscribers and readers his paper may have; but when we consider that doctors and lawyers are given to specialties in their practice on which their reputation is made and rests, although a lawyer whose bar is the rail in a magistrate's office, unless he have admission into the corridor of a prison, will appeal a petty case to the supreme court if possible, and a doctor who knows that a broken limb is not a case of fits will attend and talk at a consultation of surgeons, oculists and family physicians distinguished in the medical profession, we are or

ought to be at liberty to doubt whether the editor of a daily newspaper really understands every subject he writes about, when a lifetime of study bounds but limited knowledge on more than one grand theme in the interest of man.

Hence, when the newspapers talk about commercial treaties with foreign nations, look to it that a commercial treaty be not operative mainly in the interest of the foreigner, who may have but little to exchange for his admission into the American market.

Reciprocity was tried with Canada, and was stopped on detection of her subterfuges and tricks in intertrade. And considering the prevalence of perjury where importers and their proxies swear to undervaluations in custom-houses and in courts of law, it behooves American citizens to be on the alert in the definition of words and the interpretation of mother tongue, lest it be found, after ratification is exchanged, that a treaty may contain "words of promise made to the ear to be broken to the hope."

Commercial reciprocity between nations is a "game of hazard of the die," which is a game of hazard of the dollar. In a treaty, every word used should be considered and weighed in its obvious meaning and possible interpretation. For evidence of the wisdom of circumspection in treaty phraseology, witness the impudent claim made by disingenuous misinterpretation, to the island of San Juan off Vancouver Island, under the Oregon treaty with Great Britain, June 15, 1846.

OBSERVE NATURAL LAWS AND MEDITATE MANKIND.

A profile of a railroad across a continent shows a series of elevations and depressions, from ocean beach to main summit, with tunnels, bridges, thorough cuts and embankments, the grade of the road-bed ascending and descending according to the slope of the corrugations in the surface of the ground, reduced by cuts and fills, on the route traversed—inequalities caused by uplift, as exposed rocks illustrate, and by erosion, as denuded ridges certify, in geologically translated revelations of igneous upheaval, volcanic eruption, glacial action, subsidence of water and wear and tear of the weather on everything exposed to contact with it.

Go back to the period when the Gulf of Mexico bent its elbow at Cairo, where the Ohio joins the Mississippi, and conceive the quantity in cubic yards of disintegrated rock and fallow and tilled soil washed down mountain and valley and borne gulfward in flood and freshet, forming the bottom lands along the lower Mississippi river and the delta beyond New Orleans.

See where the sands of the ocean shore, when the wind angers the

waves, are moved along the coast, making changes in the water-line by cutting away acres of beach in one place and adding acres to the beach in another place, so showing that the law of change pervades nature where it is inanimate and without life, as where it is animate with life in mute animals endowed with instinct and in human beings with reason and language at command.

The march of man since he was sent forth on his mission to replenish the earth has been a series of ups and downs, steps of advancement and progress up an incline to a higher level, steps backward and downward to a lower level, there to halt, waiting opportunity to regain lost ground and push ahead into new territory, where there is room, if not welcome, for the organized army of occupation, with its weapons of war and implements of industry.

Nor has man on his marches upward and onward towards the main summit seen in his visions of possible human happiness, between countermarches to the rear, progressed farther than to reach the base of the last mountain. This ultimatum height his posterity will have to climb before the army of life in the old world will have even proximately attained the objective destination of the campaign, in a condition of political equality of the high level built by the ballot which citizens of the United States have voted more than a hundred years, with security and mental and material profit to themselves and benefit in example to the rest of mankind; and which advanced condition of society subjects of kingdoms will also enjoy, after they shall have learned how to utilize the force latent in numbers, as mechanical engineers know how to utilize the force latent in nature in practical business affairs. The utilization of force in government, as in mechanics, is a problem for universal study, because a panacea from the pharmacy of quackery promises too much. Where the patient is a body politic, the prescription must be compounded to cure.

INTEROCEANIC CANALS AND CONTINENTAL RAILWAYS.

North America is the only continent crossed by continuous railway. Panama and Suez are isthmuses conspicuously important as necks that join large areas together, and as narrow strips of land between seas and oceans, which in the Suez case are united for navigation purposes by a ship canal, and in the Panama case will be united when the Panama canal shall have been completed. The Nicaragua canal, too, is a pending probability, with powerful political, commercial and military considerations in its favor.

The American Union is a power on the Pacific Ocean, same as it

is a power on the Atlantic Ocean, and between these two oceans, whereon are its coasts, a ship canal of large capacity is an unquestionable indispensability, to which every year adds gravity and increase of importance.

An isthmus ship canal and the Monroe Doctrine in Central and South America and the West Indies, are paramount themes on which American public opinion is emphatic and pronounced and will continue to intensify.

Home rule in North and South America is the motto and urgency is the watchword. There are nations in western Europe that are hotbeds of evil intentions against distant peoples and common rights.

The continent of North America, moreover, is the only continent dominated by a citizen population, whose free institutions rest on a foundation of equality and civil rights which cloud-bursts cannot wash out, nor statecraft undermine, nor hostile forces overcome, no matter from what sources or in what numbers they may be sent, because they are institutions builded "by the people for the people."

And as North America is the last continent opened to immigration —Australia is an island in the South Pacific Ocean—the fact verifies the New Testament words that "the last shall be first;" for whilst America was the last continent opened to settlement to develop its territory, it was the first continent opened by overland railway to local, terminal and "round the world" trade.

The continent of Asia, too, the largest of the continents in area and population, containing half the inhabitants of the earth, will soon be crossed by a continuous railroad wholly within the Russian empire, same as the half dozen railways across North America are all but one wholly within the United States. European Russia contains a number of railway lines which combine the two ideas of military and commercial transportation; for whilst St. Petersburg is the head, Moscow is the heart, of Russia, the one supreme in its diplomacy that appreciates the jealousy of its neighbors, who would smite if they dare, the other supreme in its patriotism that goes out from its pulsations into the arteries of the nation to its uttermost extremities. From the Ural mountains, where European Russia ends and Asiatic Russia begins, the Siberian railway will in short time be opened through to the North Pacific Ocean, at the dock of a ferry to the United States, whose boundary is at the 193° of longitude from (Greenwich) London, west of the westernmost of the Aleutian Islands, which enclose Behring Sea, as is shown on the map, English map included.

Deduct the 84° 29′ of longitude between Maine and Poland, from the 360° of longitude which embrace the globe, and there remain

275° 31′ in the joint possession of the United States and Russia, 126° 11′ to the former, 149° 20′ to the latter.

But for Russia in the rebellion, England and France, the latter under the usurper Napoleon the third and little, would have joined the Confederacy to divide the Union. And this episodal act of Russia with its fleet will continue a quenchless light, so that its *lesson* may not be dimmed nor forgotten though the millennium arrive.

Australia an independent nationality; India under home Mahometan Hindoo rule; and China and Japan wise enough to revise existing treaties extorted from their helplessness at the dates they were signed, the North and South Pacific and Indian oceans rise out of the mist which overhangs waters in foggy times, and loom up into sunshine, geographical birthplaces of events which pregnant nature shows are in the womb of time, soon to be born.

With Russia in the Mediterranean, Baltic and North Pacific; the United States in the North Atlantic, Gulf of Mexico and North Pacific; home rule in Hindostan; and China and Japan operated according to a new treaty programme, the "European Balance" which has so long cheated the world with false weights will rust from disuse, a discarded scale.

The dark continent of Africa next in turn will be belted with railroads by the western powers of Europe, who are already squatted on its coasts, located to stay; and who have organized bands roving the Congo basin and its remotest parts, coveting its territory, intent and determined on its distribution among themselves, for colonization by assisted emigration of redundant population, for ethnologic and cosmopolitan considerations.

UNREST AND DISTRUST IN WESTERN EUROPE.

The carving-knife has been in use since Tubal Cain, the artificer in iron named in Genesis, and the diplomatic pen since the first treaty put in writing. And in the army the sword and in the cabinet the pen are to-day potential in consultation, considering how to overcome and overreach, and not incur more than minimum risk to secure maximum gain. Peace is a sweet sentiment, in retirement away from the noise of the thoroughfares, where there are no sparrows to annoy the songsters; but in Europe war is forecasted in the grim shadows of standing armies, in readiness to break camp and begin hostilities, which may end no one can foresee when, nor how, nor where. And it is this uncertainty akin to caution that keeps the leashes on "the dogs of war," in the Mediterranean and on the Danube.

Storm-clouds darken the sky and the lightning hurls its smiting

bolt and does its mischief, before the thunder tells the anger of a force in nature overhead, to the lower air for human ears to heed and communicate to man his insignificance as a part of the creation.

Against a pent-up element of nature, suddenly let loose in wrath, even war as a demon of destruction loses its terrors, as when, by a break in the dam of a reservoir in Cambria county, Pennsylvania, May 31, 1889, inside one hour six thousand lives were destroyed at Johnstown and riverside boroughs east and west of it, through the omission and neglect of the South Fork Fishing Club of Pittsburgh to put in safe condition and keep in safe repair an old dam built across a brook to form a reservoir for use in time of drouth to feed a canal abandoned soon after the Pennsylvania Railroad was opened to Pittsburgh, leaving the reservoir an empty ruin; ten years ago the break was closed and the dam repaired to make a fishing lake, but in a way that added peril to the thirty thousand inhabitants of boroughs strewn along the Conemaugh river, down the Allegheny mountain side. When the dam broke the flood spread twenty miles of death and desolation, from South Fork to Nineveh!

Truly "it is the unexpected that happens," and well may the fact make ministers of state, whose hope is in allies and strength in alliance, hesitate to go to war, particularly if plotted in the interest of crowned heads and not risked to vindicate a principle or a people. For war made for dynasties the people pay in blood and treasure.

Europe is covered with a patchwork of war-made kingdoms, as for illustration Austria with its babel tongues and antagonistic races, the Austrian element a small ingredient in the mixed but not commingled population; and miscalled an empire, because its army holds it together for dynastic ends and prevents its disintegration into parts with affinities for more congenial combination.

The geographical situation of the United States is a blessing that stirs the heart of citizenship with thankfulness and a natural advantage that assures the mind in meditation of man in America, where spiritualistic aspirations leaven the material mortal; and awakens interest in man elsewhere, held in subject condition through usurpation of his rights in ages gone by and in defiance of the rights of the present generation to the pursuit of happiness on common ground. Hence it is a matter of course and not of astonishment or wonder that discontent and unrest are prevalent in Europe, where, except in France and Switzerland, the interest of dynasty is the first and principal consideration of statecraft; and the toiling masses without whom standing armies could not be organized and maintained are considered and used as ballast to keep the ship of state on its keel, and are not counted nor weighed as human beings in cabinet negotiations.

The cabinet of Great Britain, not its parliament, emphatically not the subjects of the crown, committed that kingdom to the Crimean war of 1853–1856 against Russia, in alliance with France, Sardinia and Turkey, and assisted to wage it with its army and navy, at triple cost in life, treasure and disappointment. Nor is that diplomatic mistake, nor the Berlin Congress of 1878, another diplomatic performance, condoned or forgotten.

Peace is perturbed with the bustling preliminaries of war, which intensify suspense and reduce prediction of probabilities to guess-work; for diplomacy where it is detected, or duplicity where it is thin and transparent, does not provide data to horoscope events in advance, like the observations of the barometer and temperature recorded by the signal service, for a basis to forecast probabilities of the weather, for a day!

THOMAS S. FERNON,
1402 SPRUCE STREET.

PHILADELPHIA,
July 14, 1889.

ADDENDUM TO STATEMENT OF "IMPORTS AND EXPORTS" (page 27).

When a summary of the Imports and Exports of the United States for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1889, appeared under date Washington, July 27, 1889, this work was in type, its proof revised and its matter paged. Hence this addendum, compiled from the statement mentioned, corrected from official figures.

Total imports of merchandise, . .	$745,131,665	
Total imports of gold and silver, . .	28,963,073	
Grand total of imports, 1889, . .		$774,094,738
Total exports of merchandise, . .	$742,401,254	
Total *exports of gold and silver*, . .	96,641,533	
Grand total of exports, 1889, . .		839,042,787
Excess of exports over imports, 1889, .		$64,948,049
Excess of merchandise imports over exports, 1889,		2,730,411
Excess of gold and silver exports over imports, 1889,		67,678,460
Excess of merchandise imports over exports, 1888,		28,002,607
Excess of gold and silver imports over exports, 1888,		12,925,743

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	1888.	1889.
Imports of merchandise, . . .	$723,957,114	$745,131,665
Exports of merchandise, . . .	695,954,507	742,401,254
Foreign merchandise exported, . .	12,092,403	12,118,766

The movement of merchandise for 1889, it will be seen, shows increase both ways; whereas the movement of specie shows an excess of imports for 1888 and an excess of *exports*—and a large one—for 1889; and this is a bad feature in the exhibit for year ended June 30, 1889, inasmuch as in a healthy condition of foreign trade, specie ought to flow into the country, not out of it.

The presidential canvass of 1888 was waged in Europe with everything but the ballot, whilst in the United States it was waged with the ballot except in cottondom, where the colored voter was denied justice, by jugglery of the law, at many of the polls.

Moreover, it is well to remember that, of the fiscal year ended June 30, 1889, only that portion from March 4 to June 30 was in President Harrison's term; the prior eight months and three days were in President Cleveland's term.

Under recent rulings of the Appraisement and Treasury Departments the current fiscal year will do better for the country, particularly in its foremost interests, agriculture and manufactures, which will overspread the states with prosperity and plenty, when the rents viciously made by insidious misconstruction, in the *national panoply of protection*, shall have been closed, as the stars overspread the heavens with brightness and beauty, in testimony of the wisdom that reigns in nature.

LB D '04

MAN IN AMERICA.

SIX THOUSAND YEARS FROM EDEN TO INDEPENDENCE HALL.

THE HIGHEST SUMMIT REACHED BY MAN, *EN MASSE*, BETWEEN THE GARDEN OF EDEN AND INDEPENDENCE HALL, IS CITIZENSHIP MANHOOD ON THE TABLE LAND OF EQUALITY IN THE UNITED STATES, WHERE THE AMERICAN CITIZEN IS AS HIGH ABOVE THE SUBJECT OF A CROWN AS THE TABLE LAND IN THIBET IS ABOVE TIDEWATER, OR THE FLIGHT OF THE EAGLE HIGHER THAN THE SPARROW.

BY

THOMAS S. FERNON,

AUTHOR OF

"NO DYNASTY IN NORTH AMERICA," "FREE TRADE MEANS SERF PAY AND FAMINE FARE," ETC.

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